T/SOR/49/5/2/3

Making Mumia a Household Name

Equal Justice Annual Report 1995

In 1990, the Quixote Center, a religious-based social justice organization, began a project called Equal Justice USA (EJ). A grassroots campaign born of the Center's anti-death penalty activism, EJ sought to mobilize public scrutiny and protest about racial, economic and political biases which taint the U.S. criminal justice system.

The project was also launched to take up a particular case: that of Mumia Abu-Jamal, a man wrongfully convicted of murder and sentenced to death in 1982. Mumia's case was an egregious example of everything that was wrong with the criminal justice system, and EJ decided to use it to spotlight the flaws in the system and to humanize the issue of the death penalty. The campaign to make Mumia a household name had begun.

EJ began laying the groundwork for a long-term effort to win Mumia a new trial. This entailed building a constituency and generating controversy, as a way of mustering the resources needed for the legal case, and to spark a vigorous public education program.

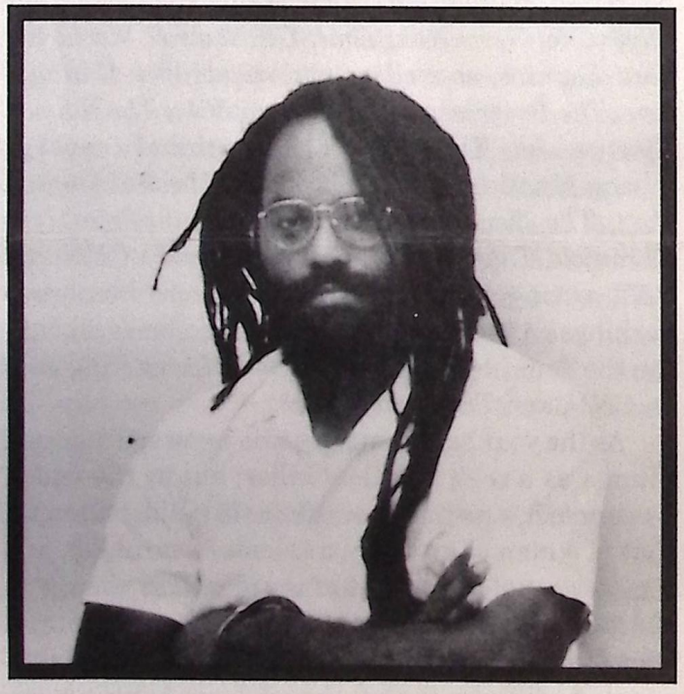


photo: HK/Umbrecht/Berlin

In 1993 and 1994, EJ ran newspaper ads on Mumia's case in Philadelphia and Harrisburg. As a result of the ads, more than 1,000 people were added to the EJ mailing list. In addition, EJ began making contact and building ties with groups in Europe, sowing the seeds for an international campaign.

By the summer of 1994, after the *NPR* controversy (see below), the EJ constituency had grown to 5,000. With the campaign growing, and with the very real possibility that Thomas Ridge (who promised during his campaign to begin signing death warrants *en masse,* if elected) might become the governor of Pennsylvania, the Quixote Center made a decision to add additional staff to EJ.

On June 1st, 1995, Governor Ridge signed Mumia's death warrant, putting in motion a massive initiative to win Mumia a stay of execution. At the same time, Mumia's appeal for a new trial went forward in the courtroom of Judge Albert Sabo, the judge who had originally condemned Mumia to death.

Mumia was granted a stay on August 7th, ten days before his scheduled execution. The stay was directly attributable to grassroots pressure and the effort to raise Mumia's profile in the press. Mumia did, indeed, become a household name in 1995. The following is a report on how Equal Justice USA helped make it happen.

Broadcasting Mumia's Voice: Reaching Through Prison Walls

Mumia's radio commentaries proved to be a major educational tool for EJ in 1995. The radio commentaries were originally produced by EJ's Noelle Hanrahan and were used to win a commentator's spot for Mumia on *All Things Considered,* the most popular program on the *National Public Radio* (*NPR*), in the spring of 1994. When Mumia's debut was announced, it became a major press story, appearing in nearly 500 newspapers. However, on May 16th, 1994, *NPR* – caving in to right-wing pressure – cancelled

Equal Justice USA / P.O. Box 5206, Hyattsville, MD 20782 / 301-699-0042 / 301-864-2182(fax)
MUMIA HOT-LINE (301) 699-5007

Mumia's commentaries, blowing up the story in the press even more.

To counter the campaign to silence Mumia, EJ distributed the radio commentaries extensively. Over **200 radio stations nationally and internationally have aired the tapes,** reaching a vast audience and bringing Mumia's voice to hundreds of thousands of people**. Over 2,000 cassettes have been distributed to organizers and individuals.** The commentaries have also been aired, via satellite, on such shows as *Pacifica National News, Counter-Spin* and *Making Contact.*

Live From Death Row: A Miracle of Timing

Perhaps the most important and exciting development in Mumia's case in 1995 was the publication of *Live From Death Row*. This book was born amidst the firestorm of controversy created by *NPR*'s cancellation of Mumia's commentaries. Soon after the cancellation, EJ initiated the idea of approaching a major publisher about issuing a book based on Mumia's radio commentaries and other writings.

EJ was an essential player in the book's production, providing materials for packets which went to potential publishers, obtaining copy and artwork contacts for Addison-Wesley (the eventual publisher), spending over 100 hours proofing the book, helping to develop a marketing and publicity plan, and ultimately distributing over 3,000 copies of the finished product. **Over 75,000 copies of the book have been printed so far. It has become a best-seller in Northern California and has great potential to become a national best-seller.**

EJ also initiated and produced two major public readings of *Live From Death Row* in 1995. The first was at the Cooper Union in New York City on May 21 and was co-sponsored by the Pacifica radio station WBAI. Prominent activists and celebrities – including Juan Gonzalez, William Kunstler, Dhoruba Bin Wahad, Sally O'Brien and Melvin Van Peebles – read from Mumia's book. The second was in Berkeley, California on June 25 and was co-sponsored by KPFA, a Pacifica affiliate. Among the participants of this reading were: Michael Parenti, Adrienne Rich, Dr. Chinosole, Chrystos, Judi Bari, and Jamal (Mumia's son). The Cooper Union and the Berkeley readings were recorded and will be available on CD in late 1995. In addition to the two main readings, EJ co-sponsored dozens of smaller readings around the country.

Exposing Injustice: Equal Justice Reports

A prominent part of EJ's mission has been the publication of articles relating to the death penalty and, in particular, Mumia's case. In 1995, as part of the *Action Alert* series, EJ published three extensively researched reports and disseminated them to press contacts, activists and constituents. 15-30,000 of each report were distributed.

- *Greene County Supermax: Pennsylvania's Human Rights Nightmare,* exposed the inhuman conditions at Greene County jail (where Mumia is now incarcerated).
- *Trampling the Public Trust: Philadelphia Police Abuses Reveal Systematic Injustice* focuses on the police corruption scandal in Philadelphia in 1995 and makes apparent the complicity of Lynne Abraham, Philadelphia's D.A., as well as documenting her fanatical pursuit of the death penalty and her efforts to prevent a new trial for Mumia.
- *First & Sixth Amendments Under Attack* details Mumia's quest to win back his rights to free speech and access to legal counsel, which came under attack after the banning of his broadcasts by *NPR*, and the publication of *Live From Death Row*.

Creating A Media Moment for Mumia: EJ Press Work

In 1995, feature articles on Mumia's case appeared in mainstream publications such as *People Magazine, Newsweek, Time, US News & World Report, Esquire*; as well as periodicals like *Z Magazine, The Progressive, The Nation, Vibe, The Source, Emerge, Jet.* There was also continual coverage during Mumia's PCRA hearing in *The Washington Post, The New York Times, The San Francisco Chronicle, The Boston Globe, USA Today, CNN* and *BET,* among other outlets. There were numerous bookings on radio and television talk-shows, including the Tom Leykis radio program, *Larry King Live* on *CNN*, and *The Today Show*.

As the year began, most media coverage depicted Mumia as a cold, heartless killer; but by the end of the summer, a picture much closer to reality emerged: that of a man of integrity, a talented journalist, and a man wrongly convicted of murder. This change in the tenor of Mumia's coverage did not occur in a vacuum – it was a conscious effort on the part of people working with the press. EJ was behind many of the more positive stories about Mumia in 1995

and significant credit for this must be given to Karen Pomer, hired by EJ as a press specialist during the summer. The following are highlights from the press campaign she led at EJ.

◆ **EJ Press Packets:** During the summer, **the EJ press team distributed over 450 press packets**—to journalists representing large and small, national and international media outlets. From those who received EJ press packets, there was high acclaim for the quality and depth of information.

◆ **Countering Disinformation:** In addition to the 450 press packets, EJ distributed nearly as many "Countering Disinformation" packets. This packet was part of a campaign to arm EJ constituents with the facts of Mumia's case so they could engage their local media. The "Countering Disinformation" packet had a significant impact in improving Mumia's image in the press. We know of over 50 op-ed pieces and letters to the editor written by constituents in papers all across the country.

◆ **The NABJ controversy:** On June 17th, the National Association of Black Journalists (NABJ) ignited an enormous controversy by refusing to issue a statement of support for Mumia (who was president of the Philadelphia chapter of the NABJ at the time of his arrest) and actively dissociating themselves from the case. The EJ press team helped break this story, which led to statements of outrage by many NABJ members and news stories in prominent periodicals in the black and mainstream press. The EJ press team then began an intense lobbying effort, which led to the NABJ reversing itself during its annual convention, calling for a full judicial review of Mumia's case.

◆ **Mumia photos:** The flurry of words swirling around Mumia's case would have had minimal impact without images of Mumia to give flesh to the words and to humanize his case. In 1995, EJ worked closely with photographers Lou Jones and Jennifer Beach to distribute images of Mumia. EJ put hundreds of journalists in direct contact with Lou Jones and sent out over 1,500 photos from the Jennifer Beach series to press contacts.

A Summer Of Decision: EJ's Legal Support

During the summer of 1995, the hearing on Mumia's Post Conviction Relief Application (PCRA) went forward in the courtroom of Judge Albert Sabo. EJ monitored the hearing from beginning to end and disseminated the new evidence and testimony brought out by Mumia's excellent legal team, led by renowned attorney Leonard Weinglass.

In our capacity as information clearinghouse, EJ fielded as many as 200 calls a day during the hearing. A hotline to make information instantly available became a necessity. The Mumia hotline, established at that time, continues to provide information to the public about Mumia's case. **Hotline #: 301-699-5007.**

On August 18th, Mumia's PCRA hearing was continued until September 11th. This gave EJ the opportunity to cover the hearing on Mumia's federal civil suit, brought against the Pennsylvania Department of Corrections, which began in Pittsburgh on September 5th. Mumia was seeking to get a court injunction which would keep the authorities at SCI-Greene from opening his privileged mail and allow him access to his paralegals and the press. At this writing, a decision has not yet been made in the case.

As well as providing an informational outlet for the various legal efforts, EJ provided significant financial backing for Mumia's legal team during the PCRA hearing. EJ also helped find counsel for Mumia's civil suit and obtained the pro bono services of Ken Dreifach, of the Morrison and Foerster law firm, who wrote an amicus brief on behalf of 20 journalists and writers, including John Edgar Wideman and Julie Drizin, producer of Pacifica National News.

Sparking Action: EJ's Mobilization Campaigns

In 1995, EJ exerted considerable effort at mobilizing grassroots activists, and used every possible form of communication—phone, fax, letters, email—to make the public aware of Mumia's case. The major targets were:

◆ **The governor of Pennsylvania, Thomas Ridge**. Activists were asked to call, fax, send letters, post-cards and petitions to Ridge urging him to call off executions and to grant a new trial for Mumia. In 1995, EJ produced and distributed 40,000 post-cards targeting Ridge. In addition, the *Harrisburg Patriot News* reported that the governor's office had acknowledged receiving 140,000 communications on Mumia's behalf.

◆ **Martin Horn, the Commissioner of the Pennsylvania Department of Corrections**. EJ produced and distributed post-cards exposing inhumane prison conditions in Pennsylvania. By September, over 40,000 post-cards had been distributed and sent to Horn.

◆ **Philadelphia Common Pleas Court Judge Albert Sabo.** In early June, reports surfaced that Judge Sabo – who is well-known for his bias against defendants, and against Mumia in particular – would hear Mumia's appeal. EJ immediately initiated a phone/fax/letter campaign targeting Sabo, and two other judges in Philadelphia, in an effort to get Sabo to recuse himself from Mumia's appeal.

◆ **The Pennsylvania Supreme Court.** In July, when Sabo did, indeed, take the appeal (despite thousands of phone calls logged at his office demanding his recusal), EJ launched another campaign, urging the Pennsylvania Supreme Court to remove Judge Sabo from the case. Once again, the grassroots responded by sending thousands of faxes and letters, and logging thousands of phone calls.

◆ **Lynne Abraham, District Attorney for Philadelphia.** After a summer of allegations of police corruption in Philadelphia, and after Mumia's appeal for a new trial was zealously opposed by the District Attorney's office, EJ initiated a phone/fax/post-card campaign directed at D.A. Lynne Abraham's office, calling for accountability in regard to police corruption, full disclosure in Mumia's case and a moratorium on all death penalty prosecutions.

Protesting for Life: Demonstrations for Mumia

In 1995, EJ worked in conjunction with the International Concerned Family and Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal in organizing demonstrations on issues related to Mumia's case.

◆ On **January 17th**, EJ co-sponsored a march and protest during the inauguration of Thomas Ridge as the new governor of Pennsylvania.

◆ For **May 1st**, the eve of the scheduled execution of Keith Zettlemoyer (whose was the first person executed in Pennsylvania in 33 years), EJ organized a press conference, featuring representatives of the religious community, to call on Governor Ridge to commute Zettlemoyer's death sentence. Coverage of the press conference appeared on the front page of the *Harrisburg Patriot News* the next day.

◆ On **June 26th**, EJ was involved in a Mumia demonstration in San Francisco in which 1,500 people took part, with 300 people arrested. EJ staff member Noelle Hanrahan was one of those arrested and spent three days in jail.

◆ On **July 12th**, the opening day of Mumia's hearing before Judge Sabo, EJ participated in a demonstration and press conference in Philadelphia. Also that day, EJ released to the press *The Judge Who Became Death Row's King*, an expose of Judge Albert Sabo written by Jane Henderson, in conjunction with the NAACP Legal Defense Fund. This report was quoted by the *Philadelphia Daily News* the following day and was the basis of other articles critical of Sabo.

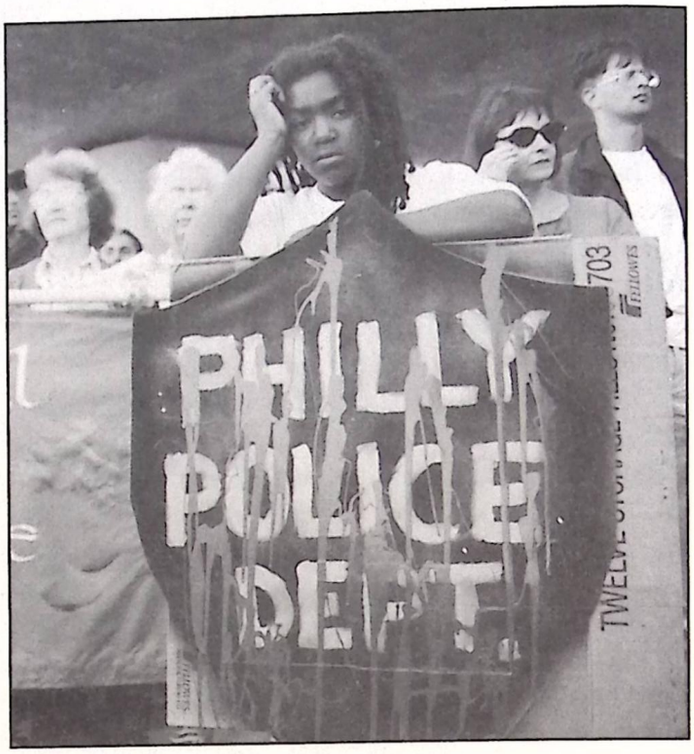


photo: Judi Parks

◆ On **August 1st**, with no stay of execution in sight, EJ mobilized 300 activists on its list and began organizing a national day of massive civil disobedience for August 14th. The stay was granted on August 10th.

◆ On **August 12th**, EJ took part in a large demonstration in support of Mumia in Philadelphia, attended by over 6,500 people. EJ co-initiated this demonstration and was one of the five planning groups.

◆ During **the summer of 1995**, EJ was involved with the 29-city Lollapalooza Tour – a highly popular travelling music festival. Activists set up information tables at every venue with EJ publications and sold books, tapes and posters, as part of the effort to publicize Mumia's case.

A hearty thank you to all who volunteered time and resources to EJ in 1995, helping us travel further down the road towards justice. We'll be looking for your helping hands and sturdy legs in the struggle ahead. *La lucha continua...*

T|SOR|49|5|2|3

The Case for a New Trial

Mumia Abu-Jamal is an African American journalist. He is on death row for the shooting death of a Philadelphia police officer despite evidence of innocence and police and prosecutorial misconduct.

Police Officer Daniel Faulkner was shot early in the morning of December 9, 1981 in downtown Philadelphia. After a controversial trial before Judge Albert Sabo in June and July of 1982, Mumia was convicted and sentenced to death. In 1989, the Pennsylvania Supreme Court denied his appeal. In 1990, the U.S. Supreme Court refused to consider his case.

In June 1995, Mumia filed a Petition for Post-conviction Relief (PCRA) seeking a new trial. An evidentiary hearing on his PCRA was held before Judge Sabo in July and August of 1995. Sabo denied the petition in September 1995. Mumia's appeal of this decision is pending in the Pennsylvania Supreme Court.

The police silenced eyewitnesses whose testimony would have exonerated Mumia and coerced others to testify falsely against him.

✔ Four independent eyewitnesses, viewing events from four different vantage points, told the police that they heard shots and then saw someone run from the scene. They each saw the person flee in the direction of a narrow alleyway, which provided an easy escape. Critically wounded by a gunshot, Mumia was unable to run away.

The first eyewitness, **Dessie Hightower**, told the police that he saw someone flee. A week after the shooting, the police submitted Hightower to a lie-detector test, which he was told he passed. The defense was never informed about the test. For the first time at the PCRA hearing, the police admitted to testing Hightower but claimed the test data showed "deception." When the defense challenged this finding and produced an expert, the court refused to turn over the data. Further, the police could not explain why this data included no question about a man fleeing the scene. Nor could they explain why Hightower, a college student with no criminal record, was polygraphed while three prosecution witnesses with criminal records were not.

The second eyewitness, a convicted prostitute named **Veronica Jones**, was pressured by police to recant her initial statement that she saw two men run from the scene.

The third witness, **Deborah Kordansky**, told the police that, after hearing gunshots, she looked out her window and saw a man running from the scene. The defense was unable to locate Kordansky to testify at the original trial.

The fourth witness, **Robert Chobert**, told a police captain at the scene that the shooter ran away. He repeated this assertion an hour later at police headquarters, describing the shooter as running "30 steps" east on Locust. He also described the shooter as weighing over 200 pounds. Mumia weighed around 170. Six months later at the trial, Chobert retracted this initial statement and said the shooter only ran 10 feet, placing him where the police found Mumia wounded.

The court kept from the jury the fact that Chobert was on probation and thus susceptible to lying under police pressure. At the PCRA hearing, Chobert, an unlicensed cabdriver, revealed that he expected the prosecutor would assist him in securing a chauffeur's license in exchange for his testimony.

✔ **William Singletary** testified at the PCRA hearing that he witnessed the shooting. He said that Mumia was not the shooter and that the shooter fled minutes before the police arrived. When he told this to the police, however, they tore up his written statement, threatened him with physical harm to make him sign a false statement that he saw nothing, and harassed him until he left Philadelphia, making him unavailable for the trial.

✔ The prosecution's key witness, **Cynthia White**, a convicted prostitute, changed her story several times before fingering Mumia at the trial. The prosecution's only black witness, she described the shooter as less than 5'8" while Mumia is 6'1". No other witness saw White at the scene. Singletary would have testified that White arrived after the shooting.

Veronica Jones testified at the trial that the police had offered her and White a deal: testify against Mumia and they could work the streets as prostitutes without threat of arrest. Trial Judge Albert Sabo ordered this testimony stricken from the record.

✔ **Arnold Howard** testified at the 1995 hearing that he was taken into police custody within hours of the shooting as a suspect in the murder. In police custody for 72 hours, Howard was interrogated and his hands were tested for powder burns. He also came in contact with two other suspects, including a Kenneth Freeman – who told Howard he had been at the scene and that Mumia had not shot the officer. The defense was never informed that the police investigated other possible suspects.

Police ballistics evidence was incomplete.

✔ The state did not prove its theory that the murder weapon was a gun legally registered to Mumia, which the police claimed to have found at the scene. A police ballistics expert testified at the trial that the bullets from the scene and Officer Faulkner's body were too fractured to make a definitive determination. The police lost a fragment from the fatal bullet, making it difficult even to determine its caliber.

✔ The police failed to perform tests – or if they did, covered up the results – to determine if this gun had been fired recently or if Mumia's hands had powder burns. The defense did not have adequate funds to perform additional, independent tests that could have excluded Mumia's gun.

✔ Medical Examiner Paul Hoyer, who removed the fatal bullet from Officer Faulkner, judged it to be a .44 caliber while Mumia's gun was a .38 caliber pistol.

Mumia was prevented from presenting an adequate defense at his trial.

✔ Seeing that his attorney, Anthony Jackson, was failing to master the details of the case, Mumia sought and was granted the right to defend himself. But three days into jury selection, trial Judge Albert Sabo abruptly removed Mumia from his own defense. Sabo ordered Jackson – who was assisting as back-up counsel – to take over. Jackson insisted that he was not prepared nor did he have the time to handle the case, but Sabo prevailed. Mumia repeatedly protested and was banished from much of the trial.

✔ Jackson did not mount an adequate defense. He failed to excuse jurors who were clearly biased against Mumia, nor did he challenge the prosecution's unlawful exclusion of 10 of 16 potential black jurors. He put defense witnesses Jones and Hightower on the stand without even talking to them beforehand.

✔ Despite repeated defense pleas for more funds, Judge Sabo allocated a meager $150 for each defense expert. Consequently, the defense was unable to retain expert services to rebuke the prosecution's presentation of the physical evidence and located only two of over 125 potential eyewitnesses.

✔ Judge Sabo disregarded the growing rift between Mumia and his attorney and even exacerbated it by forcing Jackson to continue with the case despite his and Mumia's objections.

At his trial, Mumia was not allowed to present critical evidence challenging the police's false claim that he had confessed.

✔ The state presented testimony from police officer Gary Bell and hospital security guard Priscilla Durham that Mumia had loudly and arrogantly confessed as he lay shot and beaten on a hospital waiting-room floor. This concocted confession was never reported until two months after the shooting, following Mumia's filing of a police brutality complaint.

✔ Police documents reveal that arresting officer Gary Wakshul reported, both the day of the shooting and a week later, that he was with Mumia the whole time and that Mumia "made no comment." Sixty four days later, during an interview with the department's Internal Affairs Bureau regarding Mumia's brutality allegations, Wakshul suddenly "remembered" hearing Mumia confess.

✔ Police documents explicitly noted that Wakshul should not take a vacation during the trial. Yet, when the defense attorney attempted to call Wakshul as a witness, the prosecutor insisted that he was on vacation and not available to testify. Despite defense pleas, the court refused to interrupt the trial long enough to call Wakshul at home to verify the prosecution's claim that he was unavailable. Instead, Judge Sabo taunted Mumia for his attorney's belated request, saying "your attorney and you goofed."

✔ At the 1995 hearing, Wakshul testified that he had vacationed at home and could have come to testify. He also revealed, for the first time, that the police had met with the prosecutor to coordinate testimony regarding Mumia's charges of police brutality. Had the defense been informed of such a meeting, they could have used it as further evidence that the police fabricated the confession story.

✔ Also at the 1995 hearing, Wakshul could not recall seeing Bell or any hospital security personnel near Mumia. Yet, Sabo refused the defense's attempt to call Bell and other officers to the stand to further explore its claim that the police fabricated the confession.

Judge Albert Sabo's handling of the case typifies his record of bias against capital defendants.

✔ Judge Sabo has sentenced *more than twice* as many people to death (32 total) than any other judge in the country – all but two of whom are people of color.

✔ Even though Sabo is a longtime member of the Fraternal Order of Police (FOP), a group actively lobbying for Mumia's execution, he refused to recuse himself from Mumia's appeal.

✔ Sabo rushed the PCRA hearing, denying the defense the usual time granted for preparation and discovery. He has a long reputation in the Philadelphia bar as a "prosecutor in robes." Sabo's behavior at the PCRA hearing was so outrageous that the *American Lawyer* described him as "oozing partiality toward the prosecution." He ruled with the prosecution 100% of the time, denying every defense motion, and routinely threatened defense attorneys with contempt, ultimately jailing one and fining another $1,000.

✔ At the PCRA hearing, Sabo refused to compel the prosecution to turn over all case documents despite evidence that key information had been withheld from the defense. He also quashed over 25 defense subpoenas, including one for a juror who would have testified that three jurors met during the trial to discuss the case.

✔ Sabo denied Mumia a new trial, issuing his written opinion just three days after the hearing concluded, in time for an anti-Mumia rally held by the Philadelphia FOP on September 16, 1995. The ruling denied every constitutional claim Mumia raised. It adopted, virtually verbatim, the prosecution's findings and conclusions. Every police witness was deemed credible and every defense witness incredible.

The trial violated Mumia's First Amendment rights.

✔ During the sentencing phase, the prosecutor questioned Mumia about statements he had made as a teenager in the Black Panther Party and his overall political philosophy. He then used Mumia's radical associations and views to argue he had a propensity to kill police officers and thus deserved the death sentence. The U.S. Supreme Court has found that such arguments by a prosecutor violate First Amendment rights of free speech and association.

Equal Justice USA

A Project of the Quixote Center
P.O. Box 5206
Hyattsville, MD 20782
(301) 699-0042
(301) 699-5007 (Hotline)

Put *your* support for Mumia out front!

Beautiful 4-color design by Alliance Graphics on white, boutique quality, pre-shrunk, 100% cotton t-shirt.
Sizes: M, L, XL, XXL & 4X.

item #07

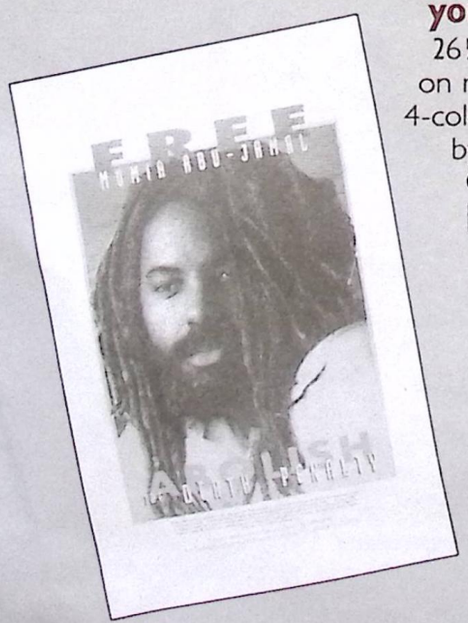
$15

A limited edition, silk-screened art poster you'll want on your wall!

26½"x16½" on rag paper. 4-color design by Alliance Graphics.

item #08

$15



Order Form

Ship to:

Name _____

Address _____

_____

_____

☐ Check ☐ Visa ☐ Mastercard

Credit CardAccount Number

_____

Print name as it appears on credit card

Mo./Yr.

_____ / _____

Signature Expiration date

Quantity	Item #	Name of item *specify t-shirt size*	Item price	Total
		Pack/Ship $3.50 or 5% (whichever is greater)		
		MD residents add 5% tax		
		Total $		

Fax orders: 301-864-2182 *(credit cards only)*

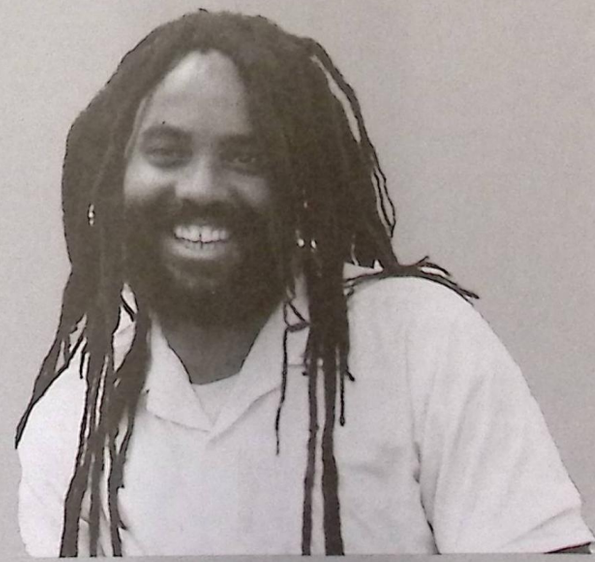
Phone orders: 800-746-1160 *(credit cards only)*

Mail orders and make checks payable to:
Equal Justice USA PO Box 5206, Hyattsville, MD 20782

Spread the word!

Resources to build the movement to . . .

free Mumia Abu-Jamal



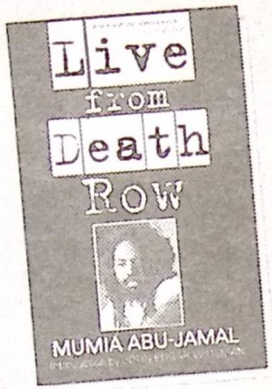
& abolish the death penalty

Equal Justice USA

Quixote Center PO Box 5206
Hyattsville MD 20782
301/699-0042
Fax 301/864-2182
Hotline: 301-699-5007

TTSOR/4/5/2/3

"A rare and courageous voice speaking from a place we fear to know: Mumia Abu-Jamal must be heard!" – Alice Walker



Mumia Abu-Jamal's gripping tales from death row.

Forward by John Edgar Wideman. Published by Addison-Wesley. Hardcover.

item #01

$20

Bring Mumia's "voice of the voiceless" into your own home.

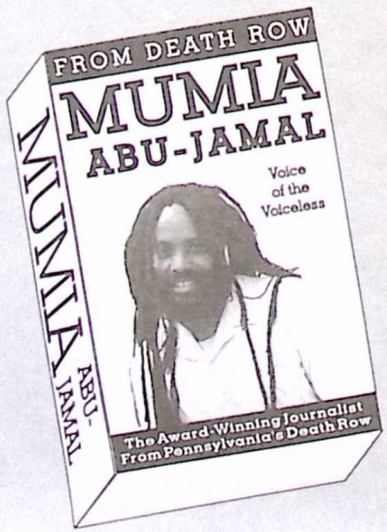
Audio cassette #1, 15 commentaries.

item #02a

Audio cassette #2, 11 commentaries.

item #02b

$10 ea

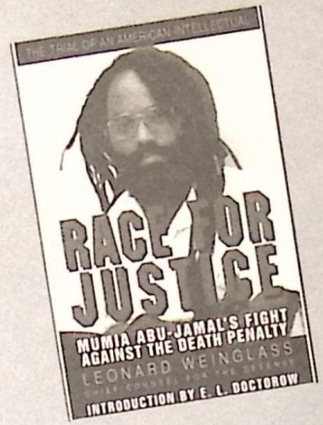


Get the facts!

Paperback version of Mumia's appeal for a new trial by Leonard Weinglass. Forward by E.L. Doctorow. Published by Common Courage Press.

item #03

$15


THE TRIAL OF AN AMERICAN INTELLECTUAL
RAGE FOR JUSTICE
MUMIA ABU-JAMAL'S FIGHT AGAINST THE DEATH PENALTY
LEONARD WEINGLASS
INTRODUCTION BY E. L. DOCTOROW

Get the facts out! Campaign materials:

A Saga of Shame: The Case of Mumia Abu-Jamal
A four-page overview of the case and systemic bias.
$0.25 ea, $9.00/100 (suggested donation)
item #04a

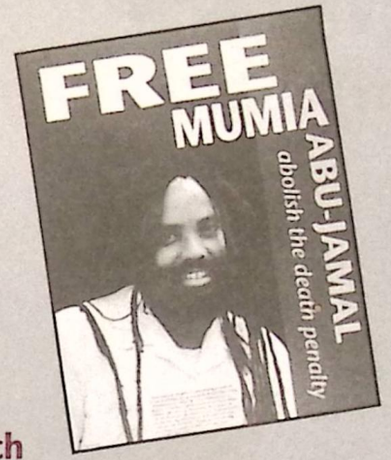
Countering Disinformation Media Packet
A comprehensive kit of press clippings, statements of support, action ideas/advice for media activists.
$10 (suggested donation)
item #04b

Postcards to PA Governor/Dept. of Corrections
Set of two cards, pressuring for a new trial for Mumia and humane prison conditions.
$0.15 ea, $7.00/100 (suggested donation)
item #04c

The Judge Who Became Death Row's King
July '95 report about Philadelphia's Judge Albert Sabo.
$5 (suggested donation)
item #04d

Action Update
Periodic report on the campaign. Bulk rates vary.
One copy free
item #04e

The Jamal Journal
Edited by Mumia Abu-Jamal. Five editions available. Published by Int'l Concerned Family and Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal. →
$2
item #04f



Tell the world what you think with this poster in your window!

4-color design by Fireworks on 60# paper.

item #05

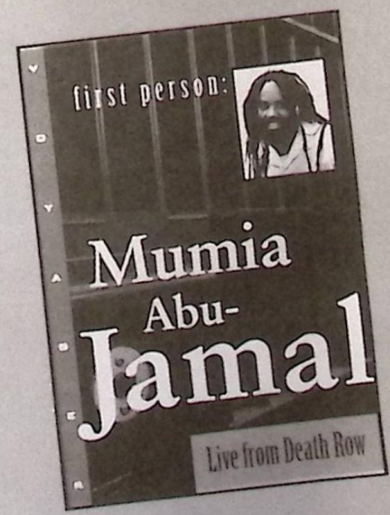
$3

Mumia steps in to the digital age.

CD-ROM of *Live From Death Row*, photos, audio and video footage. Published by Voyager.

item #06

$20



Most items are also available from Int'l Concerned Family and Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal, PO Box 19709 Philadelphia, PA 19143 215-476-8812

STOP THE E

OF MUMIA ABU-JAMAL

AND FREE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS AND P.O.W.'S

JUSTICE DENIED

Mumia Abu - Jamal is an African-American political prisoner in Pennsylvania - on death row for a murder he did not commit. A popular journalist, MOVE supporter, and former Black Panther, he has been sentenced to death because of his political beliefs. His case stands as an example of the persecution of a whole generation of Black activists in the 1970's and early 1980's.

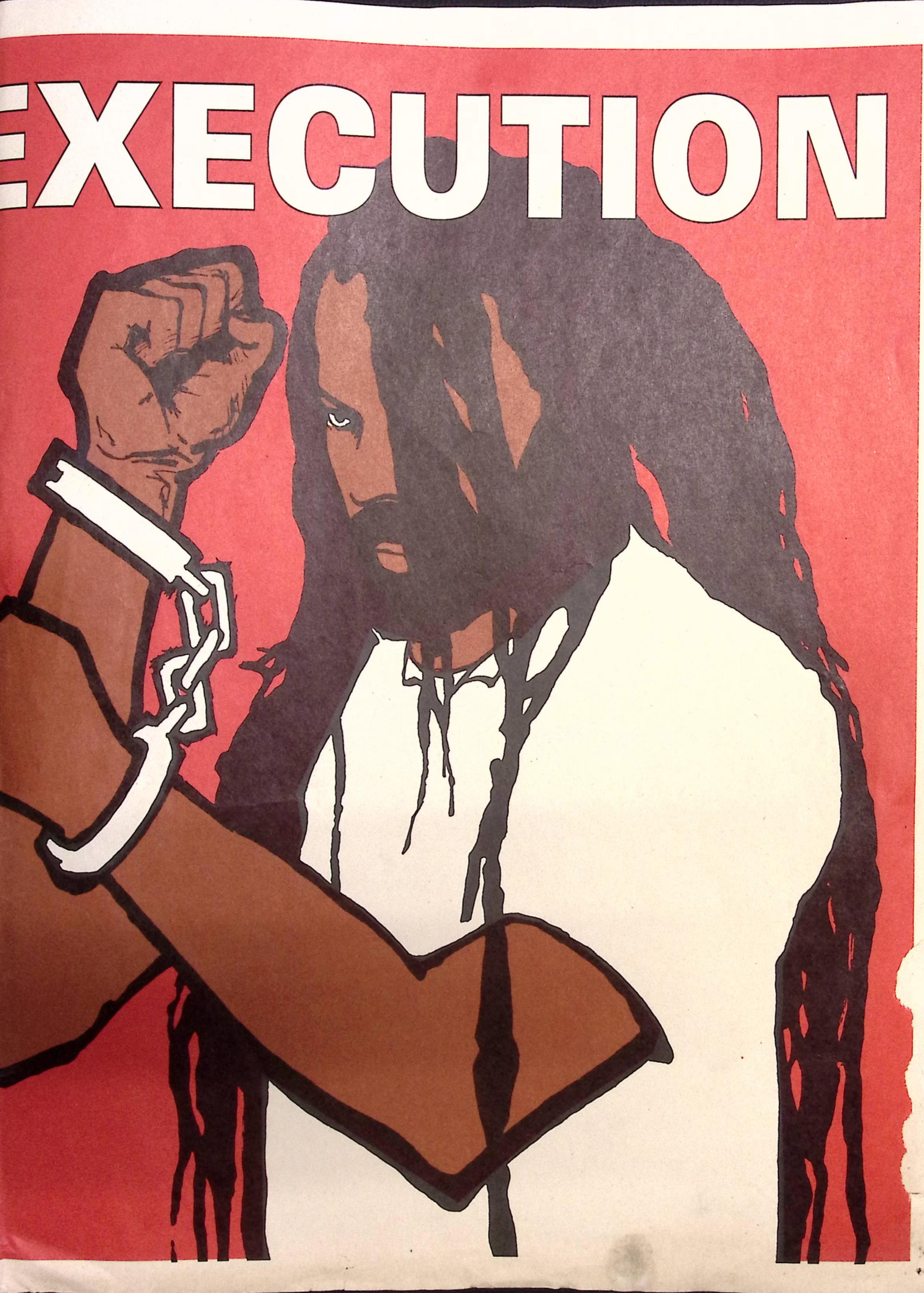
The case of Mumia Abu - Jamal is a case where the government of the United States is unjustly trying to kill a Black revolutionary. We cannot allow this to happen because it will set a precedent. If we do not struggle tooth and nail, to keep the state from killing him, then we are allowing a situation to happen where the government can accuse any of us of any crime and then put us to death.

- Assata Shakur

ANARCHIST'S BLACK CROSS P.O.BOX 77432 W.D.C. 20013

PRINTING BY BAREFOOT PRESS, RALEIGH, NC

ART AND LAYOUT BY JASON FARRELL


EXECUTION

T/SOR/49/5/2/3

JUSTICE/INJUSTICE

A PROJECT TO BENEFIT THE MUMIA ABU-JAMAL LEGAL DEFENSE FUND

FRIDAY OCTOBER 6 6-9pm

puffin room - *ART OPENING*
ART AGAINST DEATH: THE ART AND WRITINGS OF POLITICAL PRISONERS with "freeworld"...
Speakers: Leonard Weinglass, Attorney for Mumia Abu-Jamal; Mary Taylor, activist to free political prisoners
Poets: Hon. Bruce Wright, CVGSheba, Bob Holman
Artists: Leon Golub, Nancy Spero, Howardena Pindell, Marina Gutierrez, Mel Edwards, Jerry Kearns, Kiki Smith, Lloyd Oxendine, Arlan Huang, Juan Sanchez, Kamran Ashtary, Irving Epstein, Juane Quick-To-See Smith

THURSDAY OCTOBER 12 8:30-10:30pm

puffin room - POLITICAL PRISONERS IN THE U.S.
Panelists: CVGSheba, Black Panther Newspaper Committee; former prisoner of war
Alan Berkman, M.D., former political prisoner
Herman and Betty Liveright, coordinators of *This Just In...*, Bulletin for News of Political Prisoners and POWs
Richie Perez, ex-Young Lord; National Coordinator for the National Congress for Puerto Rican Rights

SUNDAY OCTOBER 15 3-6pm

NUYORICAN POETS CAFE - *ART OPENING*
ART AGAINST DEATH: THE ART AND WRITINGS OF POLITICAL PRISONERS with "freeworld"...
Speakers: Ramona Africa, MOVE, former political prisoner; Mary Taylor, activist to free political prisoners
Musician: Joseph Jarman
Poets: Hettie Jones, Fielding Dawson, CVGSheba, Sandra Maria Esteves
Visual arts project funded in memory of Alicia Wilkes

THURSDAY OCTOBER 19 8:30-10:30pm

puffin room - CONFRONTING THE DEATH PENALTY
Panelists: Lawrence Hayes, M.P.S., former death row prisoner, anti-death penalty advocate
Chuck Culhane, former death row prisoner, poet, teacher
Leonard Weinglass, Attorney for Mumia Abu-Jamal
Linda Thurston, Director, Amnesty International USA Program to Abolish the Death Penalty
Demi McGuire, Executive Director, New Yorkers Against the Death Penalty
Robert Meeropol, Executive Director, Rosenberg Fund for Children; son of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg
Ronald Tabak, President, New York Lawyers Against the Death Penalty

THURSDAY OCTOBER 26 8:30-10:30pm

puffin room - WOMEN IN PRISON
Panelists: Rev. Connie M. Baugh, national campaign organizer of Mothers In Prison, Children in Crisis
Vivian, former incarcerated mother
Nieves Ayress, former political prisoner, Chile
Natalie Bimel, Director, Health Link, Hunter College Center on AIDS, Drugs and Community Health

THURSDAY NOVEMBER 2 8:30-10:30pm

puffin room - THE "WAR ON CRIME": THE POLITICS OF INCARCERATION
Panelists: Hon. Bruce Wright, New York State Supreme Court Justice, retired; author of *Black Robes, White Justice*
Richard Stratton, Editor-in-Chief *Prison Life* magazine; writer, former prisoner
Eddie Ellis, former Black Panther and political prisoner; Neighborhood Defender Service of Harlem
Bonnie Kerness, M.S.W., Coordinator, National Campaign to Stop Control Unit Prisons; Assoc. Dir., A.F.S.C. of NJ

Moderators: Safiya Bukhari, WBAI Radio; Chair, NY Free Mumia Abu-Jamal Coalition
Sally O'Brien, WBAI Radio, journalist

JUSTICE/INJUSTICE organized and curated by Lisa Fromartz and Ronald Hunnings

Donation $5 • Reservations Recommended for Panels 212•343•2881

puffin room • 435 Broome St. (Bdway), NYC 10013 Gallery Hours: Wed.-Sun. 12-6pm 212•343•2881
NUYORICAN POETS CAFE • 236 E 3 St. (B & C), NYC 10009 Gallery Hours by Appointment 212•505•8183

JUSTICE/INJUSTICE

UNITED STATES: Alberto Rodriguez, Sundiata Acoli, Tim Blunk, Leonard Peltier, Herman Bell, Koio Bomani Sabudu, Ricardo Jimenez, Larry Giddings, Kalonji Jihad, Haniff Shabazz Bey, Marilyn Buck, Joan Laaman, Dylcia Pagan, Abdul Ilaqq, Carlos Alberto Torres, Mondo Langa, Susan Rosenberg, Silvia Baraldini, Michael Davis Africa, Janet Holloway Africa, Debbie Simms Africa, Janine Phillips Africa, William Phillips Africa, Delbert Orr Africa, Merle Austin Africa, Edward Goodman Africa, Albert Nuh Washington, Prince Imari Obadele, Luis Rosa, Sinwan Nanambda, Standing Deer, David Gilbert, Oscar Lopez Rivera, Ida Luiz Rodriguez, Abdul Shakur, Tom Manning, Edwin Cortes, Bill Dunne, Paul Wright, Linda Evans, Scott Seeley, George Still Day, Laura Whitehorn, Ojore Lutalo, Kathy Boudin, Ida Robinson, Mutulu Shakur, Richard Picciello, Ray Luc Lavasseur, Carmen Valentin, John Perotti, Sundiata Lumumbda, Sekou Odinga, Massai Khabon, Shaka Shakur, Hatari wa'Haki, Abdush Shakur, Daud Obika Tulam, Jihad Abdul Mumit, Adolfo Matos, Isabel Rosado, Derrick Quintero, Jalil Bottom, Bashir Hameed, Abdul Majid GERMANY: Irmgard Möller, Eva Haule, Hanna Krabbe, Christine Kuby, Rolf-Clemens Wagner, Adelheid Schulz, Christian Klar, Sieglinde Hoffman, Lutz Taufer, Rolf Heibler, Helmut Pohl, Manuela Happe, Brigitte Mohnhaupt, Knut Folkerts, Karl-Heinz Dellwo, Collective of Prisoners Moabit Berlin Prison ITALY: Franco Sinicih, Susanna Berardi, Caterina Spano, Anna Cotone, Renato Bandoli DENMARK: Marc Rudin BELGIUM: Pierre Carette, Pascale Vandergeerde, Bertrand Sassoye, Didier Chevolet CHILE: Collective of Political Prisoners Arpillera, Nieves Ayress, Carlos Ayress PERU: Collective of Women Political Prisoners Ayacucho SPAIN: José Jimenez Fernandez, Pili Aranburu, José Maria Sanchez Casas, Collective of GRAPO Prisoners CANADA: Shawn Murray FRANCE: Joelle Aubron, Jean-Marc Roullian, Nathalie Menigon IRELAND: Joe Doughetry IRISH POLITICAL PRISONERS IN THE UNITED STATES: Pol Breman, Terrance Kirby, Jimmy Smythe, Kevin Barry Artt

INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL PRISONERS UNITE
TO SAVE MUMIA ABU JAMAL

PUFFIN FOUNDATION LTD
435 Broome Street
New York, NY 10013

A PROJECT OF THE PUFFIN FOUNDATION
puffin room

Non-Profit
U.S. Postage
PAID
New York, NY
Permit Nº 8695

THE PUFFIN FOUNDATION

PRESENTS

JUSTICE/INJUSTICE

FEATURING

ART AGAINST DEATH: ART & WRITINGS AGAINST THE DEATH PENALTY

IN CONJUNCTION WITH

THE NUYORICAN POETS CAFE

OCTOBER 6 - NOVEMBER 2, 1995

T/SOR/49/5/2/3

JUSTICE/INJUSTICE

A PROJECT TO BENEFIT THE MUMIA ABU-JAMAL LEGAL DEFENSE FUND

FRIDAY OCTOBER 6 6-9pm

puffin room - *ART OPENING*
ART AGAINST DEATH: THE ART AND WRITINGS OF POLITICAL PRISONERS with "freeworld":...
Speakers: Leonard Weinglass, Attorney for Mumia Abu-Jamal; Mary Taylor, activist to free political prisoners
Poets: Hon. Bruce Wright, CVGSheba, Bob Holman
Artists: Leon Golub, Nancy Spero, Howardena Pindell, Marina Gutierrez, Mel Edwards, Jerry Kearns, Kiki Smith, Lloyd Oxendine, Arlan Huang, Juan Sanchez, Kamran Ashtary, Irving Epstein, Juane Quick-To-See Smith

THURSDAY OCTOBER 12 8:30-10:30pm

puffin room - POLITICAL PRISONERS IN THE U.S.
Panelists: CVGSheba, Black Panther Newspaper Committee; former prisoner of war
Alan Berkman, M.D., former political prisoner
Herman and Betty Liveright, coordinators of *This Just In...*, Bulletin for News of Political Prisoners and POWs
Richie Perez, ex-Young Lord; National Coordinator for the National Congress for Puerto Rican Rights

SUNDAY OCTOBER 15 3-6pm

NUYORICAN POETS CAFE - *ART OPENING*
ART AGAINST DEATH: THE ART AND WRITINGS OF POLITICAL PRISONERS with "freeworld":...
Speakers: Ramona Africa, MOVE, former political prisoner; Mary Taylor, activist to free political prisoners
Musician: Joseph Jarman
Poets: Hettie Jones, Fielding Dawson, CVGSheba, Sandra Maria Esteves
Visual arts project funded in memory of Alicia Wilkes

THURSDAY OCTOBER 19 8:30-10:30pm

puffin room - CONFRONTING THE DEATH PENALTY
Panelists: Lawrence Hayes, M.P.S., former death row prisoner, anti-death penalty advocate
Chuck Culhane, former death row prisoner, poet, teacher
Leonard Weinglass, Attorney for Mumia Abu-Jamal
Linda Thurston, Director, Amnesty International USA Program to Abolish the Death Penalty
Demi McGuire, Executive Director, New Yorkers Against the Death Penalty
Robert Meeropol, Executive Director, Rosenberg Fund for Children; son of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg
Ronald Tabak, President, New York Lawyers Against the Death Penalty

THURSDAY OCTOBER 26 8:30-10:30pm

puffin room - WOMEN IN PRISON
Panelists: Rev. Connie M. Baugh, national campaign organizer of Mothers In Prison, Children in Crisis
Vivian, former incarcerated mother
Nieves Ayress, former political prisoner, Chile
Natalie Bimel, Director, Health Link, Hunter College Center on AIDS, Drugs and Community Health

THURSDAY NOVEMBER 2 8:30-10:30pm

puffin room - THE "WAR ON CRIME": THE POLITICS OF INCARCERATION
Panelists: Hon. Bruce Wright, New York State Supreme Court Justice, retired; author of *Black Robes, White Justice*
Richard Stratton, Editor-in-Chief *Prison Life* magazine; writer, former prisoner
Eddie Ellis, former Black Panther and political prisoner; Neighborhood Defender Service of Harlem
Bonnie Kerness, M.S.W., Coordinator, National Campaign to Stop Control Unit Prisons; Assoc. Dir., A.F.S.C. of NJ

Moderators: Safiya Bukhari, WBAI Radio; Chair, NY Free Mumia Abu-Jamal Coalition
Sally O'Brien, WBAI Radio, journalist

JUSTICE/INJUSTICE organized and curated by Lisa Fromartz and Ronald Hunnings
Donation $5 • Reservations Recommended for Panels 212•343•2881

puffin room • 435 Broome St. (Bdway), NYC 10013 Gallery Hours: Wed.-Sun. 12-6pm 212•343•28
NUYORICAN POETS CAFE • 236 E 3 St. (B & C), NYC 10009 Gallery Hours by Appointment 212•505•81

T/SOR/49/5/2/3

The least controversial observation that one can make about the U.S. criminal justice system is that it is remarkably ineffective, absurdly expensive, grossly inhumane, and riddled with racism. The beating of Rodney King and the OJ trial are a reminder of the ruthlessness and racism that characterize many big city police departments. Our sentencing practices have led to the imprisonment of over one and a half million people, with another 3 and a half million under other forms of social control. It should not come as any surprise that the greatest percentage of people that end up in our prisons, are people of color.

For the last 20 years I have been a human rights advocate in the prison movement. It has become glaringly clear to me that, just as there were economic and political functions of slavery, so are there economic and political function of prisons. I don't believe it is any accident that the overall crime rate according to the Bureau of Justice Statistics between 1980 and 1990, remained stable while the overall imprisonment rate went up 112%. Nor do I believe it's any accident that youth of color are being fed into the prison system through the cooperation of the police and the court systems. Imprisonment rates for Black people are about 7.4 times higher than for white folks, with one out of every 3 males of Afikan decent under some form of social control. Depending upon geographic location between 65 and 85% of those the US imprisons are people of color, with our rate of imprisonment of people of African decent being higher than that in the formerly white supremacist country of South Africa. To me, perhaps the only thing more startling than the data about who is in prison and for what, is the impotence of the data. Academicians, criminal justice personnel, advocates and people of color all understand clearly that there is no statistical correlation between crime and imprisonment rates. We also all understand clearly that the criminal justice system actually does work - it works as a matter of both economic and political policy.

Prisons are one of the largest growth industries in the US at this time. Let's take a look at the economics of these houses of pain, as the prisoners call them. We live in an age of automation which does not generate new opportunities for manual work, as technology replaces muscle and nominal skills. Our males of color - most of whom were brought here for the express purpose of labor - have now become useless to the economy of automation. Black males have moved out of a historical state of oppression into one of uselessness in the economic context in this country. They have been discarded as a waste product of the technological revolution, with illegal drugs turning Ghettoized Blacks into virtual invalids just as alcohol was introduced to incapacitate the people of the Native Nations.

I no longer believe that it is by accident that people who are perceived of as economic liabilities have been turned into a major economic asset - for the young male of color who is worth less than nothing in this current economy is suddenly worth over 30 thousand dollars a year once in the so called "justice" system. Nor do I believe it is any accident that this technological revolution has been accompanied by the largest explosion of building prisons in the history of the world. The number of people currently imprisoned in this country in jails and prisons is greater than the number of people who live in 13 states. You can't ignore that the expansion of prisons, parole, probation, the court and police systems has resulted in an enormous bureaucracy with many parasitic defenders. The expansion of the prison system in this country has been a boon to everyone from architects, plumbers and electricians to food vendors, all with one thing in common, a gourmet paycheck earned off the backs of males of color. When I wrote one of my prisoner mentors about speaking here, he noted that just like every welfare kid that's processed

through the welfare system puts food on the table for innumerable counselors, investigators, clerk typists, administrators, accountants, etc., so now this grown up kid is picked over by guards, counselors, administrators, clerk typists and so on - all so they can send their own kids to college. The vested interest of these bureaucracies is intense and well organized. And with the full cooperation of politicians and the media, the public is being sold a "War on Crime" and a "War on Drugs" as the cure for the constantly hawked, yet non-existent rising rate of crime. It is still incredible to me that this country has entire towns where the sole industry is prisons. The prison system spends $74 billion dollars a year. There are a lot of mostly white folks getting paid a lot of money for containing mostly folks of color in cages in human warehouses.

Just as there are economic functions for prisons, so are there political ones. In 1978, the US Ambassador to the United Nations, Andrew Young, stated that US prisons held "hundreds, maybe thousands of people I would categorize as political prisoners".The outcry from the government was deafening and Mr. Young was forced to retract his statement. Mr. Young was right. There were then, and there are now, political prisoners held in US prisons.

If you are a young, male of African decent in this country, if you are poor, should you get arrested your bail will be set so high you become an economic hostage. For you, the phrase, "innocent until proven guilty" has little meaning. You will certainly not get a trial by a jury of your peers. You will be defended by a Public Defender who has a caseload so vast that you cannot possibly be treated as a priority, and finally you will serve a sentence which is 30% longer than a white would serve for the same crime. If you have seen this same thing happen to your father, your uncles, your cousins.....if you look around at the broader picture of what is happening to men, women, youth and children of your nationality, it s not hard to conclude there is genocide being committed. When whites first came to the shores of this country, it is estimated that there were between 10 and 100 million people living here in many great nations. Those natives were the first slaves and the first political prisoners, and the first efforts at the decimation of an entire people through genocide.

The definition of genocide according to the United Nations is: a) the killing of members of a racial or religious group b) the causing of serious bodily hard to members of a particular group c) deliberately inflicting on a group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part d) imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group and e) forcibly transferring children of that group to another group.

If we use this definition, it is not hard to see how the mass imprisonment that is occurring fits that definition. Coupled with data on high infant mortality, early death of the elderly of color, lack of equitable medical treatment, opportunities and education that is afforded to whites - and the realization becomes more compelling. Many of those who are defined and perceived of as political prisoners grew up in a society they feel oppressed them. In the 60's and 70's youth acted anger in a number of ways....native youth formed the American Indian Movement dedicated to the self determination of their people; Puerto Ricans joined the movement to free the island from US colonialism; white students formed the Students for a Democratic Society, other whites worked in the South in the Civil Rights movement - and the Black Panther Party was born. Many of us watched our peers being killed by government forces during that era, which led to the underground formation of the Black Liberation Army to stop the rash of killings of inner city

youth by police.

The government, in response to this massive outcry against social inequities, developed a Counter Intelligence Program called COINTELPRO, which had as its objective the crippling of the Black Panther Party and other radical forces. Over the years that this directive was being carried out, those participating in the Black Panther Party were indeed targeted for imprisonment and assassination. Many of those young people who weren't murdered during that time were put in prisons across the country - and many now in their 40's and 50's are still there 20 years later. In short, we find that during the past three decades there has been a steady increase in the number of people being imprisoned because of their political views and actions.

While the US continues to deny to the world that there are political prisoners within its border, there is no way to work with prisoners for any length of time without hearing repeatedly of the existence of such people - and the treatment they are singled out for once in prison. Across the nation, we have seen the growing us of sensory deprivation/isolation units for such people and it is this "special" treatment which human rights advocates feel a growing concern about. In its report on US prisons, Human Rights Watch notes that "perhaps the most troubling aspect of the human right situation in US prisons is a trend...that could be labelled "Marionization". They talk about confinement administered by prison officials without independent supervision to these "prisons within prisons" which violate the UN Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners. These units are an outgrowth of behavior modification theory and are part of a systematic effort to destroy any visible signs of political resistance. The units, called control units, are designed to break the minds of the men and women caged there. If any of you have seen the PBS special called "Through the Wire", you will be familiar with the torture of Susan Rosenberg, Alejandrina Torres and Silvia Baraldini. The courts closed that particular unit permanently but we have hundred of other documented cases in which political people are isolated in these units.

Across the country, if you Afrikanize your name, if you were involved in any progressive political group or action, if you are a militant Islamic a Black Panther, a member of the Black Liberation Army, or believe in independence for Puerto Rico or autonomy of the First Nations, you may be singled out for solitary confinement in a control unit. You don't have to commit any institutional infraction at all. This is not a punishment. You are placed there simply for who you are and what you believe. The former warden of Marion Penitentiary has been openly quoted as saying that the purpose of a control unit is to control revolutionary attitudes in the prison system and society at large.

Picture the method this country uses to accomplish this. You are placed in a cage in a human warehouse where you will eat, sleep, wash, read, think, and take care of bodily functions. You are there 24 hours a day, day in and day out, year in and year out with no end. The prisoners say that the silence is eerie. There is a steel door between you and the rest of the world. You may be allowed out once every 46 hours for an hour and a half in a concrete yard. You may be allowed one call a day and the call is monitored. Your mail and reading material is censored. If for some reason you have to leave your cell, you are strip searched, which often includes a humiliating anal probe. You are shackled around your waist and handcuffed. You are entirely under the control of prison guards who carry long, black clubs they refer to as "nigger beaters". You remain constantly on the alert for your own mental and physical deterioration.

Some of the people inhabiting these control units across the country are political prisoners, These units also contain social prisoners who have become politicized during the course of their imprisonment, as well as jailhouse lawyers. The treatment and surveillance they endure is worse than inhumane. It is physical and psychological torture. If we dig deeper into the existence of such practices, the political function they serve is inescapable. Police, the courts and the prison system all serve as social control mechanisms. The police are seen as the occupation army of the inner city by many of its residents. Despite what we've been taught in school, it seems freedom of speech is only what is government approved. For political dissidents who are doing and saying things that the government disapproves of, there is no freedom of speech.

Prisons reflect both the structure of a society and the nature of the struggle against that structure. Many of the men and women living in our prisons that I've had the privilege to meet are visionaries for a more just, humane and non-racist society. The government has attempted to build a wall of silence around them, and those of us who speak out on their behalf also come under government surveillance.

The overall situation in the country in terms of the growth of control units, the conditions in them and the number of people being caged in isolation is worsening. The government is telling folks that the new facility in Florence, Colorado is for 400 of the most "predatory" people in the federal prison system. As human rights monitors observing who is being placed there, we know this isn't true. A good portion of that massive concrete prison is being used to try to build that wall of silence around political dissidents.

I want to read you something which was sent to me. It is from a memorandum written by the Investigative Services Unit at Pelican Bay State Prison, a control unit prison in California. In it they are reviewing a prisoners central file, and they comment, "this memorandum refers to subjects correspondence with Bonnie Kerness who acts as a mail drop for prisoners and militant organizations throughout the United States. Some correspondence connects subject with individuals linked to the Weather Underground and the Nation of Islam...two terrorist organizations well noted for their sympathies to overthrow the government and foment violence. The Prison News Service...organized by Bonnie Kerness, as since been identified as the newsletter for the Black Guerilla Family....". That memo goes on for 3 pages with it's mistruths and distortions....my point being, if we don't do something now, they may be coming for anyone of us who dissents politically. The politics of the police, the courts and the prison system is the politics of social control - and it affects every one of us in ways that are a call to action.

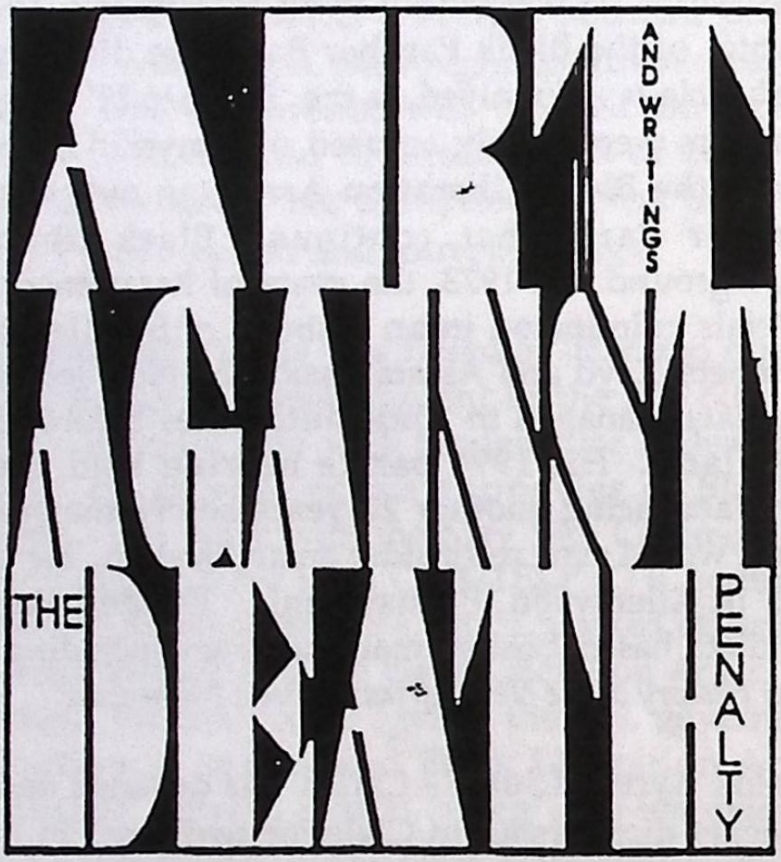
Thank you.

T/SOR/49/5/2/3

INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL PRISONERS UNITE TO SAVE MUMIA ABU-JAMAL

Art & Writings Against the Death Penalty

INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL PRISONERS UNITE



TO SAVE MUMIA ABU JAMAL

JUNE 17, 1995
BRECHT FORUM • NYC

INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL PRISONERS UNITE
BIOGRAPHIES

(excepted extensively from *Can't Jail the Spirit* and the prisoners' own writings)

Sundiata Acoli - A New Afrikan political prisoner of war, Sundiata was active in 60's Black liberation struggles. In Mississippi, he worked on voter registration, and in the Harlem chapter of the Black Panther Party, he did community service work. He was involved in the 'Panther 21' case, in which Party members were falsely accused of a myriad of crimes. Later, he joined the Black Liberation Army, an outgrowth of the Black Panther Party that continued Black liberation struggle underground. In 1973, the years of harassment by government officials culminated in an ambush of Sundiata and fellow BLA members, Zayd and Assata Shakur by New Jersey State Troopers. Sundiata managed to elude authorities before his capture a few days later. His 1994 parole hearing held via telephone left Sundiata facing another 20 years before the New Jersey Parole board would even reconsider an application. He is currently at the USP in Allenwood, Pennsylvania. Beside being a visual artist, Sundiata has published many writings including *Sunviews* and *A Brief History of the New Afrikan Prison Movement*.

Carlos Ayress (Soto) - Carlos was detained and tortured by the Pinochet dictatorship in Chile for two years in the mid 70's. He was detained with his claughter, Nieves and son, Carlos. Together they were kept in various torture centers and prisons. Carlos is an industrial technical mechanic by training.

Nieves Ayress -- Nieves was detained in 1973 by the Pinochet dictatorship in Chile. In 1974, she was detained a second time along with her father and brother. She was imprisoned for three years before her expulsion from Chile. She cannot return to Chile for 21 years. During the first years of the dictatorship, Nieves was

one of the most tortured of women prisoners, drawing the attention of human rights organizations world wide. She is now an educator and artist.

Carlos Ayress (Moreno) - Carlos was detained and tortured with his sister and father in 1974. At that time he was the youngest prisoner detained in the Chilean torture centers and prisons.

Joëlle Aubron - Joëlle is a French political prisoner. As a member of Action Directe, she fought against Western and Zionist imperialism. She was arrested with other Action Directs members in 1987, and sentenced to a minimum of 25 years. While incarcerated, she and other European political prisoners continue their aims via newsletters and correspondence.

Silvia Baraldini - Silvia was raised in Italy and came to the U.S. in her teens. As a college student in the late 60's, she worked against the Vietnam War with Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and became an active supporter of Black liberation movements. Her work with the May 19th Communist movement made her a target of the FBI's COINTELPRO (Counter Intelligence Program). Throughout the 70's, Silvia worked organizing support for captured members of the Black Liberation Army. In 1982, she was arrested for conspiracy against the U.S. government and for the liberation of imprisoned Black Liberation Army member Assata Shakur. Silvia's refusal (along with ten other activists) to testify for a grand jury concurrently investigating the Puerto Rican Independence movement got her another charge of 'criminal contempt.' She was convicted on both charges and sentenced to a total of 43 years. In 1984, Silvia, Susan Rosenberg and Alejandra Torres became subjects of an experiment in isolation and sensory deprivation designed explicitly to destroy political consciousness at an underground control unit in Lexington, Kentucky.

Belgium Prisoners - The Fighting Communist Cells first appeared publicly in 1984 when they opened the first of many action campaigns against U.S. imperialist military centers. At this time, a strong popular movement mobilized in Belgium (also in

Germany, the Netherlands among other countries) against the installation of NATO atomic missiles in Europe. The campaign concluded with the destruction of an American army center in Brussels in 1985. Other actions that year included the destruction of the headquarters of a major Belgium corporation, and the Peter Akkerman Campaign (named after a Belgium communist and volunteer in the International Brigade in Spain who died in battle in 1937) against a NATO pipe line system. In 1986, Didier Chevolet, Pierre Carette, Betrand Sassoye and Pascale Vandergeerde were arrested.

Herman Bell - Herman was born into a family of sharecroppers in rural Mississippi. Influenced by the Black power movements of the late 60's, Herman joined the Black Panther Party. In 1971, the unrelenting government harassment of Party members forced Herman to continue his political work underground. He was captured in 1973, and extradited to New York on trumped up charges of having killed two New York City police officers. In his own words, Herman writes, "Since our capture and subsequent imprisonment, we political prisoners have been singled out for special treatment (placement in Behavioral Modification Units) in an attempt to get us to renounce our political beliefs and break our spirits."

Hanif Shabazz Bey - Hanif was one of five young activists convicted for the death of eight American tourists at the Rockefeller-owned golf course on the island of St. Croix in 1972. They were all sentenced to eight consecutive life sentences. In 1984, one of the 'Fountain Valley Five' (as they became known) escaped to political asylum in Cuba. Hanif and his three other comrades remain in federal custody.

Tim Blunk - As a college student in the late 70's, Tim was active in the Southern African solidarity and divestiture movements; after graduation he extended this support to Palestine and Black liberation struggles. Working in the Northeast, Tim organized Klan resistance with the John Brown Anti-Klan Committee. Tim was captured with Susan Rosenberg in 1984, and both were

arrested on weapons charges. Their convictions resulted in 58-year sentences, the longest sentence ever given for such an offense in U.S. history. Tim was a co-defendant in the 1988 'Resistance Conspiracy Case' (in which anti-imperialists were charged with carrying out or supporting politically motivated bombings of government property) with six other co-defendants. Tim is currently serving his sentence at the USP Lewisburg, Pennsylvania. There he teaches in the GED program, co-founded an AIDS awareness program, and plays jazz saxophone. Tim is a co-editor the well-received *Hauling Up the Morning: The Art and Writings of Political Prisoners and POWs in the U.S.*

Jalil Bottoms - On April 6, 1968, two nights after Martin Luther King, Jr. was assassinated, the Black Student Union Chair of San Jose State and City College, Jalil, and a couple of high school students were arrested on weapons charges. Two years later, at age 18, Jalil joined the Black Panther Party. In 1972, Jalil was captured along with Albert Nuh Washington in a midnight shootout with San Francisco police. He was subsequently charged with the assassination of two New York City police officers, and currently serves a life sentence for this conviction. Imprisoned since 1971, Nuh and Jalil are two of the ten longest held Black political prisoners in the world. He is presently at the Attica Correctional Facility in New York.

Kathy Boudin - Kathy became a community organizer for the SDS in Ohio in the late 60's. In 1969 she co-authored *The Bust Book*, a guide to arrest/grand jury procedures for progressive resisters. Government harassment forced Kathy and her family underground throughout the 70's. Arrested in Rockland County New York in 1981 when a group of white allies of the Black Liberation Army tried to expropriate funds from a Brinks truck, Kathy is presently serving 20-years-to-life at the Bedford Falls Maximum Security Prison for Women in New York State. Her earliest parole date is 2001.

Marilyn Buck - Awakened to political life through her family's involvement in the Civil Right's struggle; women's oppression first

prompted Marilyn to work against imperialism. In the late 60's, she was co-editor of the *New Left Notes*, the SDS national newspaper. Later, in 1968, she was a member of San Fransisco Newsreel, a radical film collective. In 1973, she was convicted of buying two boxes of ammunition. Her sentence of ten years was the most severe ever given for such an offence. Then, inn 1979, because of her political history, Marilyn was suspectedin Assata Shakur's prison liberation. After an unsuccessful expropriation (robbery) of a Brink's armored car in 1981, she went underground until her capture in 1985 when she was convicted on a RICO political conspiracy case. She was then indicted in 1988 with six other anti-imperialists (the 'Resistance Conspiracy Case'), for conspiracy to protest government policies with violence. With an 80-year cumulative sentence, Marilyn stands little chance of parole. Only amnesty for political prisoners can free her. She is the winner of a PEN literary award.

Edwin Cortes - Edwin was a founding member of the Union for Puerto Rican Students at the University of Illinois and the Don Pedro Campos Collective (later the Movimento de Liberacion National Puertoriqueno). In 1983, Edwin was captured and accused membership in the Fuerzas Armadas de Liberacion National/National Forces for Armed Liberation (FALN), and of seditious conspiracy to oppose U.S. colonial domination of Puerto Rico. Despite enduring the physical torture of improper and denied medical care during his imprisonment, Edwin expresses his revolutionary spirit in his writings, ceramic artwork, and input into ongoing struggles and discussions. Now Edwin participates in many educational and vocational programs, and inmate organizations while serving his 35-year sentence at Terre Haute, Indiana.

Standing Deer - In 1978, Standing Deer, a 65-year old Oneda Choctaw Native American, exposed a government plot to assassinate American Indian Movement (AIM) leader Leonard Peltier in the Marion Federal Prison in Illinois. In 1984, Standing Deer, Leonard Peltier and Albert Ganza fasted for 42 days to draw worldwide attention to the inhuman conditions endured by the

prisoners at the Marion Control Unit in Illinois. The government retaliated against their efforts by placing them in solitary confinement for over a year with nothing in their cells except a steel bunk and toilet. Standing Deer continues to fight for human dignity despite reprisals from his captors. Standing Deer is not eligible for parole and has no release date.

Linda Evans - In the late 60's, Linda worked with SDS, and organized against the Vietnam war and in support of Black liberation. As a member of the John Brown Anti-Klan committee in Texas, Linda fought white supremacy and Zionism. A lesbian herself, Linda has also fought for gay liberation and women's liberation. Her work to develop revolutionary strategy capable of armed struggle ultimately led to her 1985 arrest. She was convicted on charges stemming from her anti-imperialist activities in the 'Resistance Conspiracy Case,' charged with politically motivated bombings of government buildings, and weapons charges. Her total sentence is 40 years. She is presently at the women's federal prison in Dublin, California. Linda continues her activism behind bars; she is a founder of PLACE, Pleasanton AIDS Counseling and Education, a model peer program for women prisoners. Linda's release date is 2012 and she is eligible for parole next year.

Larry Giddings - Larry is presently serving a sentence stemming from his efforts to liberate a freedom fighter from a Seattle jail. He has no known parole opportunities. Larry's non-nationalist political analysis and anti-authoritarian commitment played a key role in the police repression of himself and friends. It also caused his transfer from a state prison in Washington to the federal prison in Leavenworth, Kansas in 1982. While at Leavenworth, Larry completed BA degrees in psychology and sociology. He is currently working toward a Masters degree in sociology. He is now incarcerated in Lewisburg, Pennsylvania. In his own words, Larry expresses his political beliefs as follows, "Anti-colonialism and anti-imperialism are integral to non-authoritarian analysis and practice. I seek a world where people live without cultural, national, or racial oppression, a non-nation-state world, a world without borders."

David Gilbert - Reality burst onto my consciousness at the age of 15 with the Greensboro sit-in of February 1960. In 1962, I joined the Congress of Racial Equality, and in 1965 I started the Committee Against the War in Vietnam at Columbia University. I was a founding member of the SDS chapter there, and in 1967 I wrote the first national SDS pamphlet that named the system as 'U.S. Imperialism'. In response to the murderous government assault on the Black liberation movement and the Vietnam war, SDS members formed the Weather Underground Organization in the early 70's. I spent ten years in underground resistance. In 1981, I was captured when a unit of the Black Liberation Army and allied white revolutionaries attempted to take funds from a Brinks truck. I am doing 75 years (minimum) to life in New York State. Since early 1987, I have struggled as an activist and educator of AIDS.

Bashir Hameed - Influence by the struggles for Black self-determination in the 60's, Bashir joined the Black Panther Party. His efforts toward community organizing with the Party were stifled by constant arrests on petty charges. He eventually ended up at the Trenton State Prison in New Jersey where he developed a study group with Sundiata Acoli, Kwesi Balagoon, and John 'Andaliwa' Clark, among others. Upon release in 1975, Bashir was fingered as a prime suspect for an attempted prison break in which Andaliwa was murdered and a prison captain shot. This incident forced Bashir underground. In 1981, he was arrested and charged with a cop killing. Although the trial ended in a hung jury, the state manufactured 'witnesses' who testified against Bashir. He and his comrades involved in the case were then convicted and sentence to 30+ years-to-life with the recommendation of no parole.

Abdul Haqq - Abdul was a social prisoner in New York when he became a Muslim. This religious transformation also affected him politically. Paroled in 1980, Abdul joined the Black Men's Movement Against Crack in 1986. Abdul's activities with this group supporting various causes in Black communities drew the

attention of law enforcement; especially their shut down of the transit system in 1987 for a 'Day of Outrage'. He was eventually charged with weapons possession, and sentenced to 6 to 12 years.

Italian Prisoners - The Collectivo Communisit Prigionieri Wotta Sitta (Wotta Sitta Imprisoned Communists Collective) consists of comrades imprisoned in various special prisons all of whom were involved with different Italian guerrilla organizations (Red Brigade, NAP - Armed Proletarian Liberation Resistance). We are all in jail for about 10 years, and some of us for 15. During the summer of 1985, we worked out our first collective paper as prisoners - entitled "Wotta Sitta" - in African "the time is right." As imprisoned revolutionaries we have to confront the same counter-revolutionary strategy of imperialism in every European country and be an integral part of the revolutionary process; we see in the unity of the prisoners in western Europe as a possible and necessary step in our fighting experience.

Jaan Lamaan - Jaan has a rich history of political activism: He held membership in SDS and United Steelworkers of America, worked as a draft counselor, an anti-war/anti-imperialist with the Student Mobilization Committee, an officer with the New England Prisoners Association, and in clandestine political movements. He and six other comrades (the 'Ohio 7'), faced charges of membership in the United Freedom Front, and with seditious conspiracy - conspiring to (and) assaulting institutions that support apartheid, imperialism and war. Jaan was sentenced in 1985 in the Massachusetts state court to 39 to 45 years for a shoot-out with state police and on weapons charges. In 1986, a federal court sentenced Jaan to 53 years for actions with the United Freedom Front. All sentences consecutively total 98 years. Jaan is not eligible for parole until 2020.

Mondo Langa - On August 27, 1970, I turned myself over to an African member of the Omaha Police Community Relations Office. I didn't have much choice other than turning myself in, realistically, because I hadn't seen the need to connect myself with any kind of underground. In the summer of 1970, prior to my

arrest, I was Deputy Minister of Information of the Omaha chapter's newsletter, *Freedom by Any Means Necessary*. At my trial a sixteen year old falsely implicated me after he was threatened with the electric chair. During this trial, the prosecutor and various prosecution witnesses used the public record of my political beliefs against me. I have spent twenty-five years locked up.

Ojore N. Lutalo - Ojore is a New Afrikan prisoner of war locked down at the Management Control Unit in the Trenton State Prison, New Jersey for actions carried out in the fight for Black liberation. In his own words, Ojare is "serving a parole violation sentence (we received 14-17 years) stemming from a 1977 conviction for expropriating monies from a capitalist state bank (in order to finance our activities)...After my parole violation term terminated in December 1987, I started serving a 40-year sentence...received in 1982 for having a gunfight with a drug dealer ...in order to secure funds for our activities...and to rid the oppressed communities of drug dealers." Ojare is an Anarchist, and lists among his influences, the Black Liberation Army and the late Anarchist Kuwasi Balagoon.

Oscar Lopez-Rivera - Oscar was born in Puerto Rico and moved to Chicago, Illinois at age 14. After fighting in the Vietnam War, Oscar returned to Chicago and became involved with the Young Lords Party. He helped found the Pedro Albizu Campos High School and the Puerto Rican Cultural Center both in Chicago. Oscar was captured in 1981, given 55 years, and then an additional 15 years in 1988. He is now imprisoned at the Control Unit Prison in Florence, Colorado.

Tom Manning - Tom is a veteran from an Irish working-class family in Boston. He became politically active while a social prisoner. After prison, he and his new family moved to Portland, Maine where they worked at Statewide Correctional Alliance for Reform (SCAR), a service center run by and for ex-cons. Tom's increasing interest in socialism led him into a confrontational political life. Government harassment forced him and his family underground. Tom was indicted with his wife and comrades (the

'Ohio 7') for conspiracy to overthrow the U.S. government. Presently, Tom is serving a life sentence for the self-defense killing of two State Troopers, and 53 years for a series of bombings protesting the government's imperialist foreign policy. After years at the notorious Control Unit Prison in Marion, Illinois, Tom was recently transferred to the newly opened Maximum Security Control Unit at Florence, Colorado.

Abdul Majid - Abdul became politically aware during the 60's, taken by examples of Black people struggling for self-determination here and abroad in Southern Africa. From this awareness, he and his brother formed the Grass Roots Advisory Council in Queens. He also became a member of the Black Panther Party and the Republic of New Africa. All this activity and community service work made Abdul a target of the FBI's COINTELPRO. In 1981, Abdul became the primary suspect in the shooting death of one cop and the wounding of another. He went underground, and was finally arrested in 1982. After five years and three trials, the state was finally able to engineer a trumped up conviction with flimsy evidence. He was sentenced to 33-years-to-life on the two counts.

Adolfo Matos - Since his capture in 1980, Adolfo has endured the most exceptional hardships forced upon him by a spiteful government: Midnight transfers, solitary confinement, sleep depravation are but a few. He is currently incarcerated in California serving a 70-year sentence for seditious conspiracy.

Nathalie Mengion - Nathalie was born in France in 1957 to a working-class family. As a bank worker in 1975 she belonged to the CFDT syndicate (union). During a strike, she was forced out of the syndicate and then joined an anti-imperialist communist group, 'Camarades'. In 1978, with comrades Jean-Marc Rouillan and Joëlle Aubron, she founded Action Directe. In August 1982, government harassment forced her underground and her arrest came in 1987.

Prince Imari A. Obadele - Prince Obadele is a New Afrikan and co-founder and co-chair of the Amistad March 31 Chapter of the National Coalition of Blacks for Reparations in America. He is a co-author of the text *The Reparations Manual Concept* and *The Purpose of Prisons*, and is the author of *Baby's Bad Boys File*. Prince Imani is also an elected Southern Representative to the Provisional Government of the Republic of New Afrika. He was captured and imprisoned in 1990. He is presently incarcerated in Texas.

Dylcia Pagan - Dylcia is a New York City born Puerto Rican Prisoner of War. As a student in Brooklyn College, she helped organize the Puerto Rican Student Union, a conglomeration of all the Puerto Rican student organizations in the CUNY system. Later, she taught in the New York City public school system. In the early 70's, she began a successful career as a TV producer and writer. She then decided to join the clandestine forces fighting for the Puerto Rico's liberation from U.S. colonial rule. Her son remains underground to this day. Dylcia is serving a 55-year sentence for seditious conspiracy at the FCI Pleasanton, California.

Richard Picariello - In the early and mid 70's, I was a member of and active in SCAR, a Marxist-Leninist organization in Portland, Maine. During this period, I was active in NEPA, a progressive prisoner rights organization in Cambridge, Massachusetts. In 1976, I was a member of the Fred Hampton Unit, an urban guerrilla unit. In 1977, I was convicted by a federal court in Portland of interstate transportation of explosives with intent to bomb the Polaroid Corporation, and of bombing the headquarters of Central Maine Power, the largest utility monopoly in Maine. I received an 11-year federal sentence. I was also convicted by a state court in Boston for similar charges and received a 10-to-15-year sentence consecutive to the federal sentence. I, like other political prisoners, have been subjected to much abuse and persecution including years in control units because of my status as an activist against human rights abuses and violations. Every year I have a parole hearing, but the parole board refuses to pardon me.

Alberto Rodriguez - While a student at the University of Illinois, Alberto immersed himself in student affairs. He helped organize the Union for Puerto Rican Students, the Latin American Studies Program, the Latin American Recruitment and Educational Services, and the Rafael Cintron-Ortiz Cultural Center. Upon graduation in 1976, Alberto began work with the Don Pedro Albizu Campos Collective (later the Movimento de Liberacion National Puertoriqueno). Working organizing Latino communities in the Chicago area on such issues as worker's rights and police brutality inspired Alfredo politically. He deepened his activism, and began politico-military struggle to free Puerto Rico. Captured in 1983, Alberto was accused membership in the Puerto Rican clandestine group, FALN. He is currently serves a 35-year sentence in Lewisburg, Pennsylvania. Recently, the parole board told him to 'max out' (serve nine more years) in response to his parole application, despite pleas for his release from the Puerto Rican and progressive communities, and N.Y. Representative Nydia Velasquez.

Luis Rosa - Luis was born in Chicago, Illinois. Luis studied at the University of Illinois in Chicago where he organized the Union of Puerto Rican students. His community activist work in Chicago centered on issues of police brutality and the lack of city services in Puerto Rican neighborhoods. Before his capture, Luis wrote poetry and played congas in a cultural group. Behind prison walls, Luis still expresses his feelings through poetry and music. He is a regular contributor to *Libertad* and other publications. Luis was sentenced to 30 years on state charges and 75-years on federal charges, that includes seditious conspiracy.

Susan Rosenberg - Susan was one of the first political prisoners held at the High Security Unit for Women at Lexington, Kentucky; the first *explicitly* political prison for women in the U.S. Susan's refusal to collaborate with the government and change her political beliefs were the stated reasons for her placement at Lexington. Susan's experience at Lexington in the 80's were documented in an interview featured in Nina Rosenberg's 1990 video, *Through the Wire*. In the 70's, Susan helped build a daycare center in Cuba, and

practiced acupuncture at the Black Acupuncture Advisory Association in Harlem. Susan went underground in 1979 after the escape of political prisoner Assata Shakur. Susan and Tim Blunk were captured together on weapons charges (both were also a part of the 'Resistance Conspiracy Case') and received 58-year sentences, the longest sentence in U.S. history for such an offense.

Marc Rudin - Marc was raised in Switzerland in the 50s. He worked as a graphic designer in Italy, where he became active in the radical operaist and squatters' movements. His activity with the Palestinian solidarity movements led to Marc's 1993 indictment on robbery charges. Marc was the alleged 'fifth man' in a 1988 robbery of a post office during which a police officer was shot. Four activists accused of several robberies including the post office gave statements to the police about someone known as 'Paul,' a non-Danish comrade involved in the post office robbery. A year and a half later Marc was arrested while crossing the Syrian boarder into Turkey. Marc was tortured in Turkey where he was sentenced to 17 months for illegal border crossing and false identification. Under the name Jihad Mansour, Marc designed many of the cover designs for "Democratic Palestine," the English-language publication of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP).

Mutulu Shakur - In 1978, Dr. Shakur co-founded the Black Acupuncture Advisory Association where he served as co-director from 1978 to 1982. Dr. Shakur's primary work as a political activist was as a co-founder, leader, worker and security personnel in the Provisional Government of the Republic of New Afrika. The Provisional government, founded in 1968, sought to establish an independent New Afrikan (Black) Republic in the states of Georgia, Alabama, South Carolina, Mississippi, and Louisiana. Dr. Shakur was the co-founder and director of the National Task Force for COINTELPRO Litigation and Research that exposed, and investigated suits against the FBI and other American law agencies for their unlawful suppression of political dissidents in the U.S. Dr. Shakur was indicted in 1981, and convicted of conspiracy to overthrow the U.S. government for which he received a 60-year sentence.

Jimmy Smythe - Jimmy Smythe, Pol Brennan, Kevin Aritt and Terrance Kirby make up the group known as the H Block 4. They are all under warrant for extradition back to Northern Ireland for their part in the 1983 Maze prison break-out. They are all Irish Republicans who have fought for the Irish cause for Independence from Britain.

Spanish Prisoners - The Group of Anti-Fascist Resistance, First of October (GRAPO) made its appearance in 1975 admist a national political crisis, when anti-terrorist laws were enacted and enforced to repress a turbulent society erupting in boycotts and worker struggles. In response to the shooting death of five anti-fascists by Franco's police, GRAPO shot to death four police officers. Among the many actions carried out by GRAPO include some as significant as the assassination attempt of a military leader who negotiated Spain's integration into NATO, and attacks on a police commissioner known for his torture of anti-fascists. In 1978, GRAPO published a booklet called "Experiences of Three Years of Struggle," in which they explain the principles which guide their activity. In 1984, GRAPO felt the political conscience of the masses and the decay of once activist parties and unions closed the era of their program, feeling that it no longer responded to real condition, feeding only false illusions and slowing down the popular resistance movement.

Carlos Alberto Torres - Carlos was born in Puerto Rico and came to the U.S. as a child. His father is a Reverend, and he cites the Church as a major influence on his political activism. His desire for Puerto Rican independence and socialism led him to become an active member of the FALN, a Puerto Rican clandestine organization in the U.S. In 1976, Carlos was forced under-ground, and was on the FBI's ten most wanted list. He was captured with other comrades and sentenced to 88 years on seditious conspiracy charges. Carlos has experienced much abuse while imprisoned; one guard claimed that the FBI encouraged prison staff to met out this cruel treatment. Harsh conditions aside, Carlos is a regular writer for *Libertad*, and his short stories have been published in *Cuentos para la Libertad*.

Hatari Wa'Haki - I am a New Afrikan POW suffering here in the confines of Trenton State Prison, New Jersey. In 1983, I was captured in the Bronx, New York after being hunted by the feds for months in connection with a politically motivated armed bank assault, carried out with the expressed interest of financing the Black underground. During this assault, the pig who's duty it was to guard and protect the government funds was killed by guerrilla gunfire. I faced the death penalty [and received] a sentence of life plus 20 years. Out of the ten years I have been in captivity, nine of those have been in solitary confinement. Though I am a Pan-Afrikan/Socialist, I think a person's political philosophical-ideology is irrelevant; it only serves today as a vehicle to keep the movement divided, and the reality is that no matter what ideology one chooses to embrace, none can be enforced with the U.S. empire still standing.

Albert 'Nuh' Washington - My name is Albert Washington. I am called Nuh (Noah), and like a handful of others, I am one of the longest help political prisoners in this country. As a member of the Black Panther Party, I worked to raise the political consciousness of Black people and teach them self-defense. The government sponsored COINTELPRO created situations that led to the split in the Black Panther Party and forced many of us underground. Underground we became the Black Liberation Army, and engaged in active self-defense. In defending the Black community in San Francisco, I was shot and captured along with Jalil Abdul Muntaquin. Later, I was charged with killing two New York City police officers with Jalil and Herman Bell. The State has conceded that I have committed no act but that I taught political education classes. For that I have been sentenced to life imprisonment and subjected to the tightest security. I am a prisoner of war because of the historical and contemporary acts of war carried out against Blacks/New Afrikan people inside and outside the U.S. by the government and those who believe in white supremacy.

Laura Whitehorn- Laura became politically active in the 60's struggling in support of Black liberation during the Civil Rights movement, and with the Black Panther Party, the Black Power movement, and the New Afrikan Independence movement. A lesbian, Laura also fought for women's liberation. In 1971, she helped organize and lead a militant takeover by 400 women of a Harvard University building in protest of the Vietnam War. Internationally, Laura worked in solidarity with African nations' and Palestine freedom struggles. She is currently serving a 23-year sentence for charges stemming from the 'Resistance Conspiracy Case', in which 7 anti-imperialists were charged with politically motivated bombings of government buildings. Her projected release date is 1999. She does AIDS education and counseling in prison.

T/SOR/49/5/2/3

mumia update

— THE NEWSLETTER OF THE International Concerned Family & Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal —

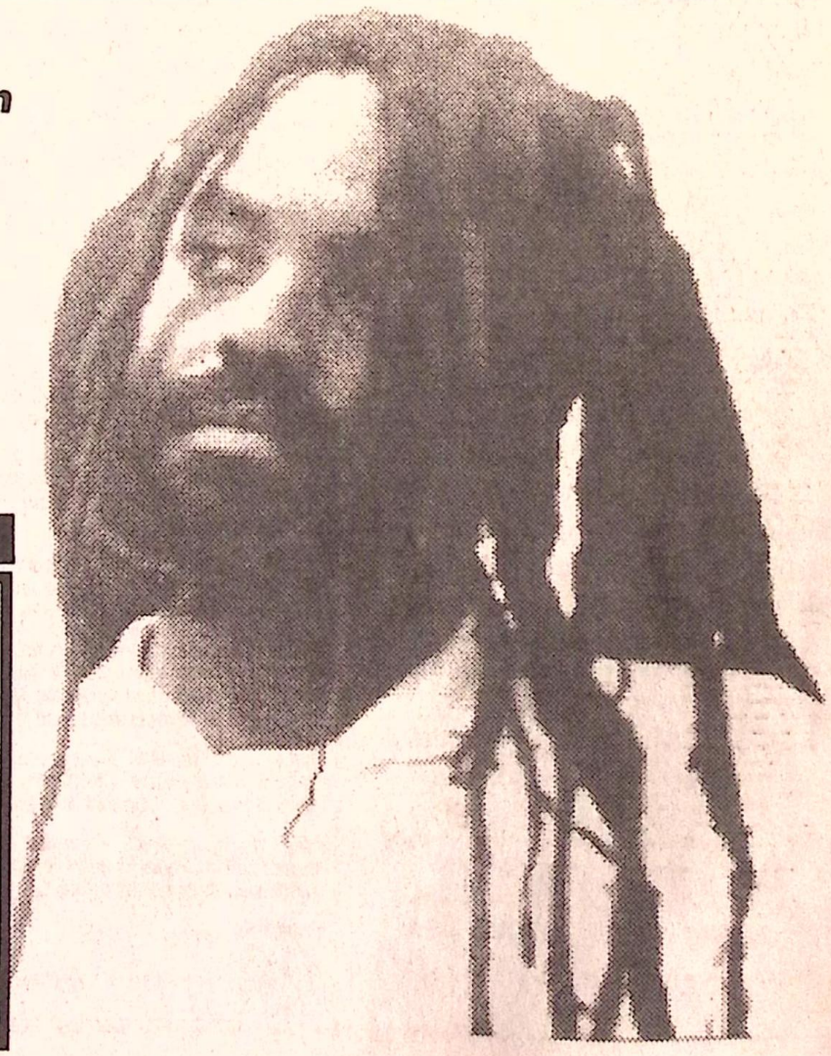
BRING MUMIA HOME NOW

MILLION LETTER CAMPAIGN TARGETS ATTY. GEN. JANET RENO

We are aiming at collecting **ONE MILLION LETTERS** to deliver to **Attorney General Janet Reno** during a May 20 March and Rally in D.C.:

- ***Demand a civil rights investigation and a new trial NOW!***
- ***Abolish the Death Penalty!***
- ***Stop Police Brutality!***
- ***FREE MUMIA!***

Details on page 3



WHAT YOU CAN DO TO HELP FREE MUMIA ABU-JAMAL:

- ☐ **AGITATE, EDUCATE, ORGANIZE!**
- ☐ **JOIN US** as we spread the word about Mumia, and **BE THERE** when we March in D.C. on May 20th and in Phila. on July 4th!
- ☐ **ATTEND** ICFAF-MAJ meetings every week at 3901 Market St.. **BE INVOLVED!**
- ☐ Organize public events for Mumia!
- ☐ **VOLUNTEER** your time and expertise.
- ☐ **CONTRIBUTE** financially to the ICFAF-MAJ and to Mumia's Legal Fund.

International Concerned Family &

WE CARE!

Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal

Send all your letters for Atty. Gen. Janet Reno to: International Concerned Family & Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal, P.O. Box 19709, Phila., PA 19143; (215) 476-8812 (voice); (215) 476-7551 (fax)

To write to Mumia in Prison: MUMIA ABU-JAMAL, #AM-8335, SCI Greene, 1040 East R, Furman Highway, Waynesburg, PA 15370-8090

TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE LEGAL FUND, send your tax-deductible donations to the "Black United Fund/MAJ Legal Fund." 419 S. 15th St., Phila., Pa 19146 All money sent to this account goes to his lawyers to pay their expenses.

To assist our community outreach / public education activities, send your tax-deductible donations to the above address, payable to "Black United Fund / Mumia Account / Organization."

UPCOMING PUBLICATION:

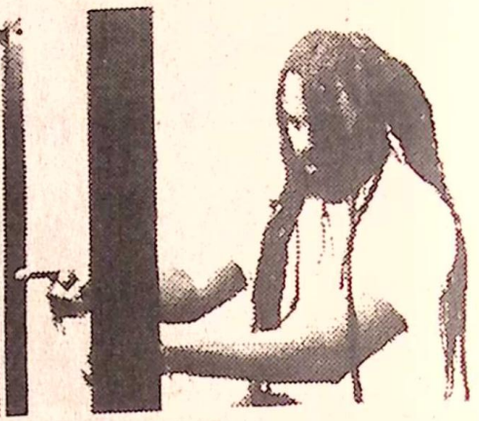
Advertisers are being solicited for our new magazine, *THE JAMAL SUMMIT* to be published for the July 4 Demonstration in Philly. For ad rates and for more information see page 6.

T-Shirts, books, videos, posters and buttons are available from ICFAF-MAJ and are sold as fundraisers.

Call (215) 476-8812

SEE US ON THE INTERNET:
www.webcom.com/nattyreb/mumia.html

MILLION LETTERS FOR MUMIA Campaign



JUST SIGN THE LETTER BELOW & RETURN TO US THEN JOIN US ON MAY 19 & 20 AS WE DELIVER A MILLION LETTERS FOR MUMIA TO THE U.S. JUSTICE DEPT.!!

Given the clear, ongoing violation of Mumia's civil rights, the MILLION LETTERS CAMPAIGN demands that Attorney General Janet Reno begin a civil rights investigation into Mumia's case.

With an investigation there is a legal standing to obtain a new trial or dismiss Mumia's case altogether!

The campaign supports, among others, the Congressional Black Caucus, NAACP, members of the Hispanic & Progressive Caucus, who sent letters to Janet Reno requesting that the civil rights division conduct an immediate investigation into the case of Mumia Abu-Jamal. From the streets of Phila., to Nelson Mandela in South Africa, to the Japanese Diet, to the European and Canadian Parliaments, support for Mumia has blossomed and proven vital to the pursuit of justice. ICFAF-MAJ calls on all those in support of justice, against the death penalty and police brutality, and those who wish to stop a murder, to join us May 19-20.

Please copy and get as many of these letters signed as possible and return to us before May 18. Thank you

Honorable Janet Reno, Attorney General
U.S. Department of Justice
Washington, D.C. 20530

Date _____

Dear Attorney General Reno:

I am aware that you have received thousands of messages —including from 35 congressional representatives, the N.A.A.C.P., and the National Rainbow Coalition — urging the Justice Department to intervene in the case of Mumia Abu Jamal. The call for the Justice Department to take action persisted, even after the stay of execution was granted to Mr. Abu Jamal, and became more specifically directed at asking for a comprehensive civil rights investigation.

Your response has been that while the Justice Department has the statutory authority to investigate state court proceedings, and where civil rights violations have occurred to prosecute the parties responsible for those violations, there is a five year statute of limitations in both cases — UNLESS THERE IS SIGNIFICANT EVIDENCE OF AN ONGOING CONSPIRACY.

Yes, Mumia Abu Jamal's trial occurred in1982, eight years beyond the statute of limitations. But there is indeed significant evidence of an ongoing conspiracy to deny Mr. Abu Jamal his human and civil rights and to assure that he be executed regardless of his innocence.

To cite just one recent example of that conspiracy, Mumia Abu Jamal was denied his right to communicate with his attorney in confidentiality. Confidential legal notes were duplicated and presented to the Governor of Pennsylvania, the very person who had signed Mr. Abu Jamal's death warrant on June 1st. Further documentation on that ongoing conspiracy will be presented to you.

I join with thousands of others, once again, to urge you to conduct a comprehensive Civil Rights investigation to examine all the ways in which there has been and CONTINUES TO BE a conspiracy on the part of the State of Pennsylvania, from its executive to its judicial branches, to silence Mumia Abu Jamal once and for all.

In light of this conspiracy, we request that all Philadelphia police files pertaining to Mumia Abu Jamal, including those on police officer Daniel Faulkner be disclosed. A Justice Department civil rights investigation could make a significant contribution toward guaranteeing the new trial that Mumia Abu Jamal must have.

Yours Truly,

Name: _____

Address: _____

JOIN THE MILLION LETTER CAMPAIGN

- **FORM LETTERS ARE AVAILABLE IN BULK, OR COPY THE LETTER ON PAGE 2.**
- **GET YOUR FRIENDS, FAMILY, CHURCH AND COMMUNITY GROUPS INVOLVED!**

JOIN US IN WASHINGTON, D.C. ON MAY 19 AND 20

SUNDAY, MAY 19

A day of organizing in preparation for the May 20th March. Join the Mumia Movement from all over the globe as we canvass the D.C. neighborhoods to inform folks about Mumia and the Million Letters Campaign.

Buses unload on 16th St. Side of Malcolm X Park, 10:30 a.m.

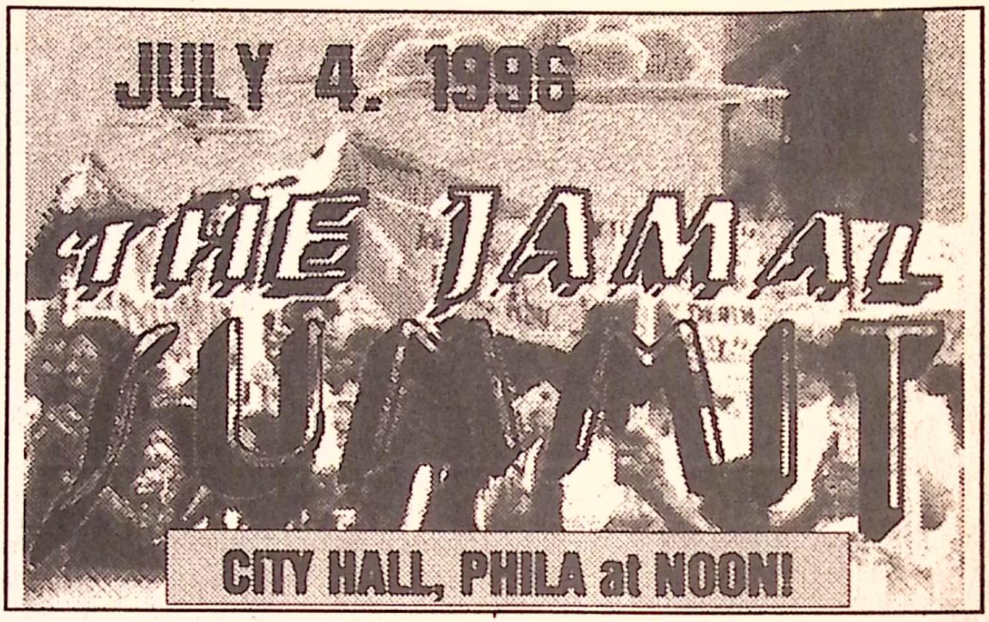
MONDAY, MAY 20

Mail Delivery Day! Meet at Benj. Banneker High School, 2400 block Georgia Ave at Euchrid St (across from Howard University) and march to Janet Reno's office at the Justice Department, 10th and Pennsylvania Ave.!

Buses and cars from Philadelphia will be leaving at 6 a.m. on the 20th. Bus tickets are $15 and available from ICFAF-MAJ.

By the way, housing arrangements are being made on a limited basis by the D.C. Coalition to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal. Call 202-973-2177 for more details.

Thanks to Free Mumia Coalition in New York, and the D.C. Coalition, the Million Letter Campaign is keeping Mumia's name in the news. Add to this *your* support, and then VICTORY IS CERTAIN!



"WHAT, TO THE SLAVE, IS YOUR FOURTH OF JULY?"

JULY 2nd and 3rd MARK THE 14th ANNIVERSARY of MUMIA'S UNJUST CONVICTION AND DEATH SENTENCE. EVERY YEAR WE HAVE A JAMAL SUMMIT — A GATHERING OF THE FREE MUMIA MOVEMENT — ON JULY 4th, A DAY TO LET FREEDOM RING IN PHILADELPHIA! JOIN US FOR THE 1996 JAMAL SUMMIT, JULY 4th AT CITY HALL, PHILA. Call 215-476-8812 for more info.

In 1852 Frederick Douglass, a former slave and a leader in the fight against slavery, wrote:

What to the American slave is your Fourth of July?

I answer, a day that reveals to him, more than all other days in the year, the gross injustice and cruelty to which he is the constant victim.

To him, your celebration is a sham;

your boasted liberty, an unholy license;

your national greatness, swelling vanity;

your sounds of rejoicing are empty and heartless;

your denunciation of tyrants, brass-fronted impudence;

your shouts of liberty and equality, hollow mockery;

your prayers and hymns, your sermons and thanksgivings, with all your religious parade and solemnity, are to him mere bombast, fraud, deception, impiety, and hypocrisy — a thin veil to cover up crimes which would disgrace a nation of savages.

There is not a nation on the earth guilty of practices more shocking and bloody, thanare the people of these United States, at this very hour.

Go where you may, search where you will, roam through all the monarchies and despotisms of the old world, travel through South America, search out every abuse, and when you have found the last, lay your facts by the side of the every-day practices of this nation, and you will say with me, that, for revolting barbarity and shameless hypocrisy, America reigns without a rival.

Frederick Douglass, July 5, 1852

ICFAF-MAJ CAMPAIGN UPDATE, WINTER/SPRING 1996 REPORT

May 1996 Update

The International Concerned Family and Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal has had a very busy winter/spring and is planning an equally busy summer.

ACADEMIC HONORS

Mumia Abu-Jamal received his B.A. degree on Sunday, January 21, from Goddard College in Plainfield, VT. Mumia was represented at the graduation ceremonies by his son, **Jamal Ibn-Jamal.** And as we go to press with The Mumia Update, it has been announced that Mumia has received an honorary Law Degree from New College in California.

DEATH WARRANT ALERT

On February 1st, a reliable source in Harrisburg disclosed that **Governor Ridge** was about to sign another death warrant for **Mumia.** Although usual procedures would preclude the signing of any new death warrants until after all appeals are exhausted, we can't forget that when it comes to **MOVE** and **Mumia,** this government is capable of anything.

Through the use of internet, fax and phone lines, Mumia's emergency response network was activated and Ridge's office was immediately deluged with phone calls inquiring about the situation. Officials denied that there was any plan to sign another warrant.

Perhaps this was a scare tactic, or a plot to test the water. Regardless of why it occurred, it should serve as a reminder that we must never ease up on the pressure until Mumia is free.

APPEALS FILED

On February 9th an appeal petition to the **State Supreme Court** was filed in Philadelphia by Mumia's legal team. The brief contains arguments on a total of 26 points, any **one** of which is grounds for a new trial. First and foremost is the claim that Mumia was denied a full and fair PCRA hearing due to **Judge Sabo's** openly biased conduct, and refusal to recuse himself. The petition also included an amicus curiae brief by the **NAACP,** the **ACLU,** and the **National Conference of Black Lawyers.** Copies of these documents are a must-read and are available from the Concerned Family and Friends for $11 plus postage. At a press conference in city hall, **Attorney Leonard Weinglass** noted that Supreme Court **Justice Ron Castille** should recuse himself from the case. Not only was Castille the head DA during some of Mumia's original appeals, but he had major complicity in white-washing the grand jury investigation of the May 13th bombing, arson and murder.

The District Attorney's response to Mumia's appeal petition is scheduled to be filed by May 13th. Yes, May 13th, the anniversary of the police bombing.

In February a French translation of **Live From Death Row** was published, and it's now in second printing. Mumia's book has now been translated to several languages including German, Spanish and Japanese.

On February 16th a press conference was held to launch the **Million Letter Campaign** for collecting letters to **Attorney General Janet Reno** demanding a federal investigation of Mumia's case.

DEATH PENALTY HEARINGS

From February 25-27 the **National Commission on Capital Punishment,** a coalition of the **Ben Chaney Foundation,** the **Bruderhofs,** and others, held the first of several planned regional hearings on capital punishment. (**Ben Chaney's** brother was a Civil Rights worker slain in Mississippi in 1964. **The Bruderhofs** are a Christian community with branches in England and the United States.)

Three days of testimony were taken, both pro and con. Mumia spoke via a videotape recorded a few weeks earlier by the Bruderhofs at Greene County prison.

The **Fraternal Order of Police** helped publicize the event when they loudly objected to the use of Philadelphia City Council chambers for the hearings. They slandered the name of respectible Christians everywhere when they attacked the Bruderhofs, calling them a "cult." This was the same dehumanization tactic used by police on MOVE years ago.

This time the FOP was laughed off the editorial pages by a public sick of the inflammatory claims of an organization that can't stop getting its officers indicted for betraying the public trust by committing crimes against the community.

Council President **John Street** held firm and allowed access to the chambers, and the event was very well received by the public. The hearings did a lot to soften even the hardest death row proponents.

JULIA WRIGHT DELEGATION

On March 31, a reception was held for **Julia Wright,** daughter of the late novelist and Black intellectual **Richard Wright.** Julia trav-

more on next page ---------->>

eled from France with nearly 70,000 petitions from all over Europe to **Governor Ridge** calling for a new trial for Mumia. She also brought a copy of French **President Jacques Chirac's** statement of August 3rd, 1995 in which he supports the fight to save Mumia's life. On April 4th the petitions were delivered to the Governor's office in Harrisburg during a large demo.

IN DEFENSE OF MUMIA

On April 26 a book party was held in New York to celebrate and help promote the release of the book "In Defense of Mumia," an anthology of writings and artwork from over 125 writers and artists worldwide who support the right of a retrial for death-row prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal. Proceeds from this book go to Mumia's defense fund. Look for it at bookstores everywhere. A limited number will be available from ICFAF-MAJ.

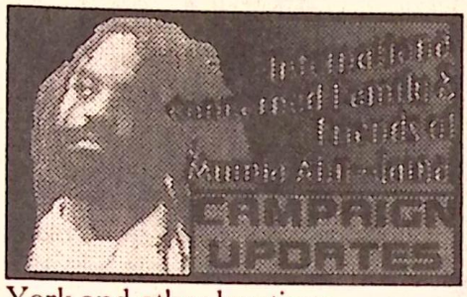
MILLION LETTER CAMPAIGN

On April 4th, a **National Million Letter Blitz Day** was initiated by the New York-based **Free Mumia Coalition,** with a rally and demonstration.

On Sunday, May 19th we invite you to join us as we join with the **D.C. Coalition** and Mumia supporters worldwide in last minute preparations for the March, including canvassing the neighborhoods in Washington.

The **Million Letter Campaign** will culminate with a march through D.C. and a demonstration in front of the Justice Department on Monday, May 20th, as the Million Letters for Mumia are delivered to Janet Reno.

Buses will be leaving from Philadelphia, New York and other locations. Call your local organization for more information.delivered to Janet Reno's office. Buses will be leaving from Philadelphia, New



York and other locations.

NPR LAWSUIT

Back in the spring of 1995, **National Public Radio** (NPR) had signed an agreement to air Mumia's radio commentaries. After NPR caved in to FOP pressure, the broadcast plans were cancelled. **The Prison Radio Project** and Mumia have recently filed a $2 million lawsuit against NPR for breach of contract. NPR still refuses to release the recordings to Mumia or the **Prison Radio Project.**

THE JAMAL SUMMIT

Other upcoming events include our annual July 4th demonstration in Philadelphia, which this year we have officially named **The Jamal Summit.** This is to signify the coming together of all facets of our movement on this historical day to fight for justice and freedom.

Mumia was convicted on July 2, 1982, and on July 3rd the jury quickly voted to fry Mumia so they could fry some burgers on July 4th.

A special glossy-page souvenir magazine will be published for the Summit, to be called, appropriately, **The Jamal Summit**. We expect to make publishing history with this one, and if you are familiar with The Jamal Journal, you know we mean to pack this magazine with up-to the-minute information from the best writers. Everyone will have an opportunity to sign a solidarity signature ad for a $5 donation. There are larger size ads available (see ad on page 6).

MUMIA ON PRIME TIME TV

An **HBO Special** on Mumia will air on July 7th at 10 p.m. It will contain all-new material, and we're sure you won't want to miss this. It is an excellent time to invite friends, relatives, community groups, etc. to get together and discuss the case of Mumia, and to formulate ways of fighting the death penalty.

On July 11th at 9 p.m. **Court TV** will again air the HBO special, and then will have a panel discussion with Mumia's lawyer, Len Weinglass, and the original proesecutor of Mumia, Joseph McGill.

HARASSMENT CONTINUES

As you know, our offices are located in a residential dwelling in Philadelphia. There has been lots of official and "un" official harrassment of the people there, including fires and unannounced visits by the Department of Licenses and Inspections.

After a number of suspicious fires in the abandoned house next to ICFAF-MAJ Headquarters, L&I recently announced that the building, in the middle of a row, must be demolished. They have warned ICFAF-MAJ that "structural damage" may occur to our building.

Says Mumia: **"We need your help to find and open an office"** in Philly! Support the **Jamal House** project so we can continue our work without interruption.

WEEKLY MEETINGS HELD

ICFAF-MAJ meets every Thursday at the Urban Education Building, 4601 Market St., Phila. at 7:00 p.m. Please come and/or volunteer your time and expertise. Call the Mumia Hotline at (215) 476-8812, fax (215) 476-7551.

Financial donations to ICFAF-MAJ, to help in our organizing work, can be made to **"Black United Fund of PA/Mumia Account/Organizing Funds"** and sent to ICFAF-MAJ, Box 19709, Phila., PA 19143.

The
Jamal Summit

FREE MUMIA NOW!

To a slave, what is your 4th of July?

Special July 4th Publication to Highlight the yearly gathering of The Free Mumia Movement for the Jamal Summit: on the anniversary of his 1982 conviction and death sentence. LET FREEDOM RING!

JOIN US AS WE MAKE PUBLISHING HISTORY . . .

introducing The Magazine of The Movement:

THE JAMAL SUMMIT

a revolutionary new publication from **ICFAF-MAJ**

You are invited to represent your self and/or your organization in these pages by placing placing an advertisement inside. There are 4 types of ads:

Full page	$300 donation
Half page	$150 donation
Quarter page	$ 75 donation
Business Card	$ 35 donation

Special SIGNATURE Ad available:

Only $5 .... a chance to represent! *Ad to be headlined* ....

"We the undersigned support a new trial for Mumia Abu-Jamal."

Please make your check/money order payable to Black United Fund/Mumia Acct./Organization and send to: International Concerned Family & Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal, P.O. Box 19709, Phila., PA 19146.

For more information call the Mumia Hotline at (215) 476-8812.
[For Black United Fund of PA information call them at (215) 732-9266]

BREAK THE CHAINS!

By adding your strength and money to the **INTERNATIONAL CONCERNED FAMILY & FRIENDS OF MUMIA ABU-JAMAL** you're helping to save not only his life, but all our lives! If the government succeeds in murdering Mumia, *they can and will come and murder us all!*

TYPES OF MEMBERSHIPS AVAILABLE:

Student Memberships
$15 annually. Includes a subscription to *Jamal Journal.*

Regular Memberships
These are $40 annually, and can be made in 2 payments). Includes a subscription to *The Jamal Journal,* a Save Mumia button, and our *Mumia Update* newsletter.

Sustaining Memberships
These are $120 annually, and can be made in 12 monthly or 4 quarterly payments. Includes a subscription to *The Jamal Journal,* 2 buttons, a video tape, and our *Mumia Update* newsletter.

• *Make all checks payable to the*
"Black United Fund / Mumia / Organizing"

YES! SIGN ME UP! HERE'S MY DONATION!

Send to ICFAF-MAJ
P.O. Box 19709
Phila., PA 19143

- ☐ **Student Membership** ($15)
- ☐ **Regular Membership** ($40)
- ☐ **Sustaining Membership** ($120)
- ☐ *Additional donation of* $_____, *designated for:*
  - ☐ *Legal Defense* ☐ *Orgaization Expenses*

Name_____
Address_____
City/State/Zip_____
Phone/FAX/e-mail_____

NEWS BRIEFS

Ramona Africa's Lawsuit

As we go to press, The City of Phila., former Fire Commissioner William Richmond and former Police Commissioner Gregor Sambor are the defendants in a suit filed by Ramona Africa for the May 13, 1985 assault & bombing that killed 11 members of her family, including five children.

Hearings are being held every day at the Federal Courthouse at 601 Market St. Phila. This is a historic event that should not be missed.

Pastors for Peace

On Feb. 21, 1985 a group of civil rights and religious activist known as the Pastors for Peace began a liquid-only fast to pressure the U.S. government to release 400 medical computer to Cuba. The five, Rev. Lucius Walker, Jr., head of the U.S.-Cuba Friendshipment Caravan/Pastors for Peace, Lisa Valanti, union organizer and Cuba solidarity activist, Saya Sangari, an Iranian-born computer engineer, Jim Clifford, a 10-year U.S. Air Force vet, and Brian Rohatyn, a printer and student from Canada are still fasting, and the computers still have not been released to the medical institutions in Cuba.

To support their efforts, contact the following officials and demand the release of the computers:

Secretary of Treasury: 202-622-5300 (FAX 622-0073)

Attorney Gen. Janet Reno: 202-514-20000 (FAX 514-0487)

Pres. Bill Clinton: 202-395-3000 (FAX 456-2461)

To contact IFCO (Interreligious Foundation for Community Organization) phone 212-926-5757.

Political Prisoner to Die June 14?

Let us strengthen our resolve to fight the death penalty in each and every case. One more killing is soon to take place.

The execution date for Ziyon Ishva Yisrayah (Tommie Smith), who is on death row in Indiana, has been set for June 14th. Let us do what we still can: publicize this case and speak out against this killing.

People of conscience can petition the Indiana Parole Board and the Governor of Indiana for clemency for Ziyon:

Indiana Parole Board, E321 Indiana Government Center South , 302 West Washington Street, Indianapolis, IN 46204-2278

Governor Evan Bayh, Office of the Governor, The State House, Indianapolis, IN 46204; Phone: 317-232-4567; Fax: 317 232-3443

Free Leonard Peltier

This is a direct call to action to join us in Washington D.C. on June 26-28 for the Leonard Peltier Freedom Forum at American University, 4400 Massachusetts Ave., NW, and International Freedom Rally (27th) at the U.S. Capitol Building. For additional details call LPDC at (913) 842-5774 or (202) 783-2512.

Death Penalty Conference

We strongly encourage you to attend the 20th Anniversary Conference of the National Coalition to Abolish the Death Penalty, which will be held at Georgetown Univ. in Washington, D.C. from June 28-30. Register by calling 202-347-2411.

Message from Mumia:
TO THE STUDENTS OF THE WORLD

On the Move!

If you look around the world, and study contemporary history, you'll come to an astonishing conclusion: The Youth Make Revolution!

The Black Liberation Movement in South Africa was energized and strengthened immeasurably when school children took to the streets and demanded an end to the teaching of apartheid's oppressive tongue, Afrikaans.

The wry word, "Sharpville," is immortal testament to their liberating spirit, and even though those beautiful youth were massacred by the fascistic state, their courageous spirits energized the Black and radical worlds.

Young people, so freshly charged with Life's Battery, believe they are immortal, and have the energy to dare the system of their fathers and mothers. They inherently believe a better world is possible, and if they act on that precious belief, a better world does become possible, for that world is pregnant in the minds and hearts of these youth.

The Youth Make Revolution!

In the '60s, young people; students, like yourselves, shook the Earth in Washington, in N.Y., in Chicago, in Paris, and in Beijing, when they demonstrated and protested the world their elders were about to leave them.

These young, grew older (as young do) and eventually sold out their transitory `principles' for wealth's promises.

Witness the world they have wrought.

Economic disparity, homelessness, railing social and class hatreds, an earth teetering on the brink of ecological nightmare—precisely the very world they, when young, wanted to change.

Do not do as they did.

Do not sell your souls!

You are the revolution.

Believe in it. Struggle for it.

Bring it into being with the Power of your Spirit.

Revolution is the Only Solution!

Ona Move!

Long Live John Africa!

Mumia Abu-Jamal

DEATH WISH

Column Written 5/4/6
Copyright 1996 Mumia Abu-Jamal

"Sword, hold thy temper;
Heart, be wrathful still;
Priests pray for enemies,
But princes kill."
— Richard, from King Henry VI
(Act V, Scene II)
by William Shakespeare

In popular, media-generated consciousness, the idea of a governor issuing a death warrant is one of a public official who undertakes deep and serious study and review of this, the most sober act — the signing of a government document that may consign a man or woman to a certain, ignoble death.

Pennsylvania's pro-death governor, Tom Ridge, supports this view, and although he has signed 44 death warrants (more than the previous governors in 33 years) he hastens to dispel the notion that he has been precipitous: "I review the cases and see the facts at all levels of appeals," Ridge added, "There is no rush to judgement."

Opponents of Ridge's pro-death stance say otherwise, as expressed by Robert Dunham, Executive Director of the PA Post-Conviction Defender Organization, a poorly-paid collective of anti-death penalty lawyers, who said, "This state is not just willing, but is extraordinarily eager to execute people." (Harrisburg *Patriot News,* (PA) 1 May 1996).

Where does the truth lie?

Let's examine one case: Commonwealth v Randy Todd Haag.

On Friday, April 26, 1996, Ridge signed two death warrants, one for Haag.

Several hours later, Ridge was forced to do the highly unusual: to cancel, or withdraw, a death warrant.

Why was it necessary to order a cancellation?

Spokesmen say the governor's legal staff found out, after the warrant was signed, that Mr. Haag had an active appeal lodged in his home county's court, one which, Ridge spokesman Tim Reeves said, "Did not come up on the first check." (Patriot News, 1 May 1996)

This spokesman suggested, almost parenthetically, that no harm was done as Haag had not yet been told that a warrant had been signed in the first place, according to the Patriot article (Patriot-News, 4/28/96).

I found this section particularly interesting as Haag's cell is across from mine, and not only was he "told" of a death warrant, but he was removed from his cell, escorted to Phase II, stripped, taken to the intake unit for photos and fingerprints, taken back to Phase II for hours, until he was returned to A-pod, again across from me, after his warrant was "cancelled".

Was there a "rush to judgement"? You decide.

The evidence suggests that the signing of a death warrant, issuance of this signing to press offices, removal of Randy Haag to Phase Ii, all while he had an active appeal in county court, is more like operating an assembly line of death, than the sober, judicious process that determines whether, or when, a man lives or dies.

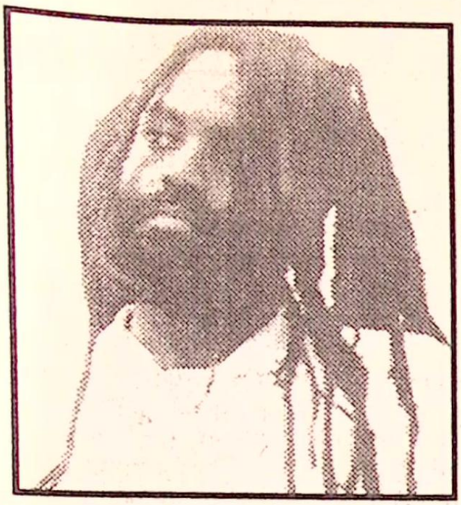
Mumia Abu-Jamal

WHO IN THE WORLD SUPPORTS A NEW TRIAL FOR MUMIA?

Nelson Mandela, President of South Africa
The former president of West Germany
The foreign minister of Belgium
The European Parliament
20 Members ofthe Japanese Parliament (the Diet)
200,000 signatories in Italy
60,000 signatories in France
Members of Italian Parliament
Members of Danish Parliament
The African National Congress

These are just a few of the more prominent internationa voices calling for a new trial for Mumia Abu-Jamal. Le YOUR voice be heard before it's too late. Make your loca politicians, educators, clergy, organizations, activists, journal ists and other opinion shapers in your community accountable. Let them know you are ARMED WITH THE FACTS o this case, and assist them with any information they may neec to study this case. The Commonwealth of PA has clearly showec they intend to kill Mumia. We have to show them we intend t keep Mumia alive, and must keep working for a NEW TRIAL.

T/SOR/49/5/2/3



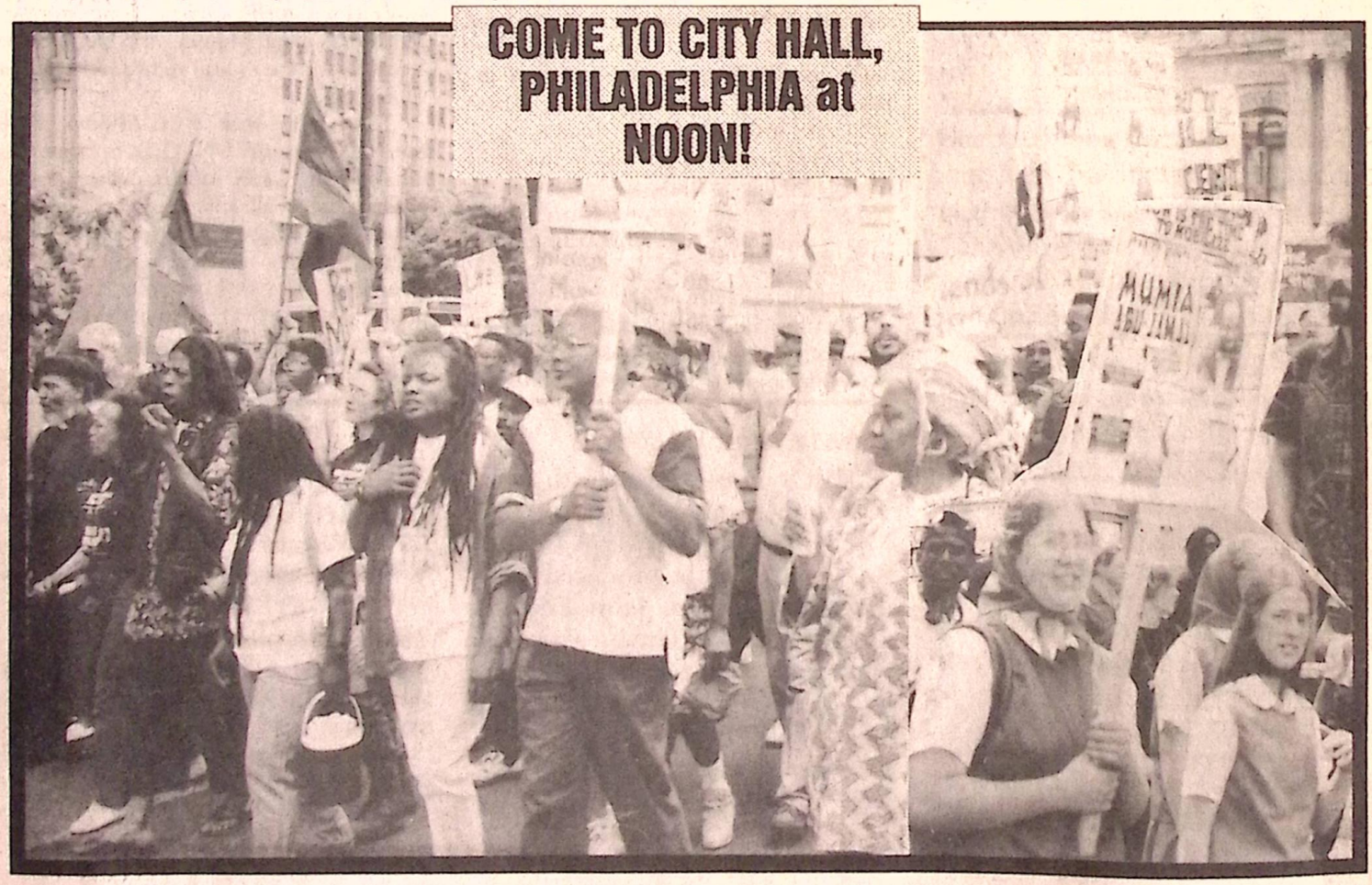
mumia update

— THE JUNE 1996 NEWSLETTER OF THE —
International Concerned Family & Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal

REAL FREEDOM AND JUSTICE: JULY 4TH SUMMIT!

DEFEAT THE WAR ON THE POOR! END THE DEATH PENALTY!
FREE MUMIA! FREE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS!

COME TO CITY HALL, PHILADELPHIA at NOON!



International Concerned Family &

WE CARE!

Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal

International Concerned Family & Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal, P.O. Box 19709, Phila., PA 19143; (215) 476-8812 (voice); (215) 476-7551 (fax); email:mumia@village.ios.com; www.webcom.com/nattyreb/mumia.html

To write to Mumia in Prison: **MUMIA ABU-JAMAL,** #AM-8335, SCI Greene, 1040 East R, Furman Highway, Waynesburg, PA 15370-8090

TO CONTRIBUTE TO **THE LEGAL FUND,** send your tax-deductible donations to the **"Black United Fund/MAJ Legal Fund."** 2227 N. Broad St., Phila., PA 19132. *All money sent to this account goes to his lawyers to pay their enormous expenses.*

To assist our community outreach / public education activities, send your tax-deductible donations to the above address, payable to **"Black United Fund / Mumia Account / Organization."**

UPCOMING PUBLICATION: Advertisers are being solicited for our new magazine, *THE JAMAL SUMMIT* to be published for the July 4 Demonstration in Philly. For ad rates and for more information see page 6.

T-Shirts, books, videos, posters and buttons are available from ICFAF-MAJ and are sold as fundraisers.

Meetings every Thursday, 7p.m. at 4601 Market St., Phila.

FREEDOM *and* JUSTICE *on the* 4TH *of* JULY.

What is known as "Freedom Week" in Philadelphia is actually a celebration of State Murder.

During this time, tourists flock to Philadelphia from around the world to see the "crade of democracy," the so-called Birthplace of Freedom, Justice and Equality.

They are lured by the hype, but the real truth is revealed in how this nation has treated its people of color, poor folks, and other minorities. After bombing 11 men, women and children to death in 1985, after framing Mumia Abu-Jamal, and despite world attention paid to corrpution that exists from the president to the precincts, people will still come to the Philly's multimillion dollar Fourth of July Show.

We urge everyone to boycott with a vengence the Philly Fourth, hosted this year by Mayor Rendell, Judge Lynn Abraham, Gov. Tom Ridge and Supreme Court Justice Ron Castile, and instead participate in the JAMAL SUMMIT!

Fourteen years ago on July 1, after railroading Mumia through a sham trial, Judge Albert Sabo told the jury that if they didn't come back with a verdict before the July 4th holiday, they would be locked in to deliberate further during the holiday.

On July 2nd they came back with a guilty verdict. On July 3rd they zipped through the Penalty Phase and pronounced the Death Penalty on Mumia Abu-Jamal. On July 4th they partied!

THE JAMAL SUMMIT, 1996

For several years now, we have demonstrated our objection to those proceedings, and to all the system's Human Rights Abuses, on July 4th. We'd like you to join us this year, as we have our annual JAMAL SMMIT, a gathering of the Movement for Social Justice, to plan strategies for the coming summer.

While plans are preliminary at this time, we invite you gather with us on July 4th at City Hall, Philadelphia at High Noon. Usually we march down Market Street to the Liberty Bell pavilion, and to the Quadrangle Park across the street for speakers, conscious entertainment, and networking. This will be a time for the entire world to converge on Philadelphia, so we can make plans to ensure that the politicians and executioners Keep Their Hands Off Of Mumia.

LEGAL TRICKS TO KILL MUMIA

Please read carefully the legal updates on page 4-5 because they have just passed the Anti-Mumia Law, and Clinton has signed it into the books. As part of the Contract on America, Gingrich and Co. promised they would kill Mumia, and every legal trick is being used to do it. As you will read, they are willing to strip so-called rights from everyone, in order to prevent Mumia from using the courts to redress his wrongful conviction.

Though the Anti-Mumia Law is clearly unconstitutional, we know they are just looking for a small "window of opportunity" with which to kill Mumia, who has become a symbol for the radical right to focus their venom on.

Now, more than ever, Mumia needs everyone to stand UNITED because any break in the ranks will be devastating to Mumia and to all sufferers afflicted by this system. This is also a time to increase your financial and/or material support of OUR campaign. Don't give your money to politicians! Support Freedom and Justice by supporting the Campaign to FREE MUMIA!

Mumia TV: Prime Time Schedule

HBO, in association with Court TV and Channel 4 (UK) presents MUMIA ABU-JAMAL: A Case for Reasonable Doubt, produced by Otmoor Productions, John Edginton and Sarah Teale. This breakthrough program is an in-depth investigation into the trial and death-row case of Mumia Abu-Jamal.

The film is to air on HBO:

July 7	Sunday	10:00pm
July 23	Tuesday	9:45pm
July 24	Wednesday	4:05am
July 26	Friday	3:15pm

It will also air on Court TV on Thurs., July 11 at 9:00 pm, along with a debate on the legal argument for a retrial for Mumia featuring Mumia's lawyer Len Weinglass, and former prosecutor Joseph McGill.

Benefit for Mumia Abu-Jamal

On June 21 a benefit for Mumia Abu-Jamal, will feature a special performance of Expanding Secret Co.'s **Seven Last Words**. Admission for benefit event is $25. For reservations call 212-254-1109. Theater for the New City, 155 1st Ave., Manhattan.

WHO KILLED MICHAEL TAYLOR?

ACTIVIST ASSASSINATED

— from combined sources —

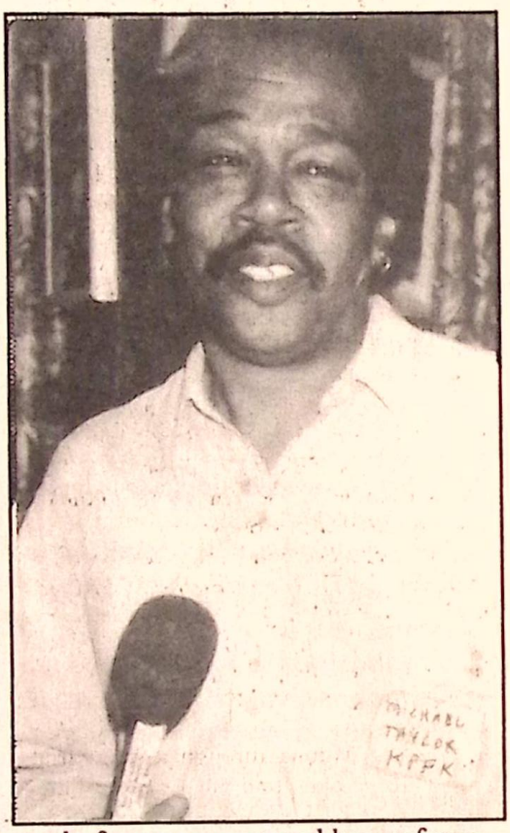
Michael Taylor, a stalwart in the struggle to free Mumia Abu-Jamal, was found shot to death on April 23 in L.A., done in execution style.

Michael had worked tirelessly around Mumia's case, not simply as a radio journalist himself, but as a committed activist. A friend who spoke to him a week before he was murdered said he was talking about setting up a micro-power community radio station in the mostly Black Crenshaw district of Los Angeles.

Michael covered diligently last year's Mumia hearings for KPFK-Pacifica in L.A., and was instrumental in bringing Ramona Africa and Leonard Weinglass out to L.A. last year, and just a month or so ago was one of about ten folks from L.A. who went up to Oakland for a regional conference to build the movement to free Mumia.

"Michael did much more than just produce radio about Mumia. He also spoke on university campuses and community meetings about the case, blending information about what was happening to Mumia with a critique of the criminal justice system," KPFK news director Frank Stoltze told the Associated Press.

Stoltze, who describes KPFK programming as half eclectic music and half "probably left" public affairs reporting, called Taylor a spokesman for those who were critical of government and law enforcement.



> "I think anytime a political activist is tied up and shot multiple times you have to ask multiple questions."

Once homeless himself, Taylor reported and produced 4- to 5-minute stories on topics ranging from homelessness to political prisoners and African-American oppression. **"He wanted to effect change,"** Stoltze said. **"I would say that he was not just a journalist, but in some respects a political activist."** Stoltze believes there's a possibility the killing was related to Taylor's activism.

"He was not disliked, but he was very uncompromising," he said. **"I think anytime a political activist is tied up and shot multiple times you have to ask multiple questions."**

Taylor worked at KPFK largely as a volunteer. He joined the station as an apprentice in 1993 to learn basic radio skills and he became a program producer a year later. He also did freelance work, Stoltze said. **"He would go out and produce public affairs stories, doing on-air or taped interviews in the studio or record discussions at community forums,"** said Stoltze. He said Taylor was paid for some of his work.

"He did some work on black politicians and police abuse and women political prisoners and he interviewed authors and moviemakers. He covered gangs from time to time as part of his topics facing the African-American community," the news director said.

During his off hours, Taylor continued his volunteer work at a homeless shelter in the Crenshaw area. He left the station in February as he began devising plans to establish L.A. first micro-powered free radio station.

Micro-powered radio stations takes advantage of a loophole in Broadcasting Law that exempts radios with very low power from regulation. Electronic kits are available to enable one to broadcast to a several block radius for around $300. The stations remain an appealing alternative to a growing number of communicators shut out of the mainstream.

MUMIA FACING SERIOUS NEW LEGAL CHALLENGES

"Creeping Fascism"

• **by Jamila Levi, Western PA Committee to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal**

The following is based on Leonard Weinglass' update given on May 11 at the excellent program at 11 99C Union Hall in Philadelphia in remembrance of the bombing of MOVE.

When Mumia's lawyers filed the appeal to the Pennsylvania Supreme Court (PSC) on Feb. 9 1996 enumerating twenty six (26) reasons for a new trial, the brief ran 119 pages. Ordinarily, the PSC sets a limit of 70 pages and Mumia's lawyers had to petition well in advance for an extension. They were granted 120 pages. The District Attorney's office (DA) had thirty days to file a response to appellant's brief under the court's rules. Instead, on the day their answer was due they requested another sixty days. They said nothing about needing more than the 70-page limit. The court extended the DA's deadline to May 13th, the eleventh anniversary of the bombing of MOVE.

On Friday, May 10th Attorney Leonard Weinglass called the DA's office, requesting a copy of the response. He was told that the DA had another application to the court saying that they needed at least 200 pages. The DA's reason: appellants mis-cited the record and they needed the extra pages to respond to our mis-cites.

We know that answer is a lie because if Mumia's lawyers had indeed mis-cited the record the DA wouldn't need to respond in detail. The mis-cites would be all the reason the court needed to dismiss Mumia's appeal.

So, on Monday, May 13th the PA filed their last-minute request with the PSC. The PSC will issue a new deadline. After the DA files its response, Mumia's lawyers will have six weeks to reply. Court is in recess during July and August, so we won't have oral arguments before the fall.

The Pennsylvania Supreme Court is an elected court. The Fraternal Order of Police (FOP) and other "law enforcement" organizations are regular and generous contributors to campaign funds. On May 11th, the FOP held its national convention in Washington, DC. Guest speaker was Bill Clinton.

Historically, federal courts have been the ones to reverse death sentences and grant new trials based on constitutional violations. Without federal court decisions, many more innocent people would have been executed in the last twenty years. In April of this year, Clinton signed into law the Counter-Terrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act. This law sets the US farther back into the Dark Ages.

The Great Writ of Habeas Corpus was a part of the original Constitution and was considered by the founding fathers to be the preeminent safeguard to liberty and freedom, said Weinglass. It was the last hope for prisoners to have their cases reviewed. The new law guts Habeas Corpus, by taking away from federal judges the power to review state death penalty cases and reverse them based on constitutional violations. Appellant lawyers must prove by "clear and convincing evidence" that the trial judge was "unreasonable" because these state court judges are protected under the "presumption of correctness." Appellant lawyers across the country say that the new law creates an "impossible standard." The law also slashes the time a prisoner has to file his Habeas appeal.

Len pointed out that Bill Clinton, a former teacher of Constitutional Law, is well aware of the history behind the Great Writ of Habeas Corpus. But Bill needed to score points with "counter-terrorist" legislation after the Oklahoma City bombing, and the pro-death president saw nothing wrong with his colleagues' idea to gut Habeas Corpus in the process.

Three months ago, the new federal budget bill was passed with an attachment called the Prison Litigation Act which prevents legal aid lawyers from representing prisoners on cases of abuse. Two months ago, the California Department of Corrections officially placed an across-the-board ban on media interviews for prisoners. Other states will soon follow suit. The new Habeas Corpus legislation adds one more nail to the coffin.

Already, five lawsuits have been filed challenging the new Habeas legislation, including one suit originating in Philadelphia. The US Supreme Court agreed to hear one of the suits within ten days. Out of the nine US Supreme Court judges, seven are Reagan-Bush appointees.

The new law will apply to Mumia's case, despite the fact that his conviction/sentence happened fourteen years ago.

The Holocaust was done "legally" - German legislators passed laws and German judges pronounced sentences. The choice to fight back is ours.

Ona Move! LLJA

more on next page ——————>

WEINGLASS UPDATE

• by Len Weinglass, Atty. of Record, Mumia vs. The System

Since the reimposition of capital punishment in 1976 the Federal Courts have served as a bulwark against the wave of arbitrary and capricious death penalty verdicts coming out of state courts in clear violation of rights guaranteed by the federal Constitution.

Although the Reagan/Bush judges have greatly lessened that protection, still no fewer than 40% of all state death penalty sentences/verdicts have been set aside by federal judges. The fact has not been lost on the pro-death, right wing forces seeking to hasten the executions of the more than 3000 now on death row. Repeatedly they sought to enact legislation which would not only expedite federal review of state death penalty cases but restrict the authority and power of the federal courts to intervene. Each of those efforts failed, largely because mainstream Congressmen were reluctant to tamper with the process by which federal judges review state death penalty cases.

That process is known as habeas corpus, an ancient right wrested from the King by the British commoners. It grants to anyone held in custody the right to challenge the legality of their confinement by filing a Writ (or application) with a court. The Great Writ, as it is frequently called, has been hailed as the hallmark of a free society, "a fundamental safeguard," as the Supreme Court recently noted, against tyranny and the abuse of power. It is the only human right enshrined in the original text of the Constitution. All other rights, known collectively as the Bill of Rights, did not come in to being until the States proposed the first 10 amendments to the Constitution as the price of their ratifying the Constitution. For the past 200 years, it has been the vehicle by which those wrongly held have gained their freedom.

In preparing the challenge to Mumia's death sentence and conviction we believed that federal habeas corpus was the best chance we had for getting relief. However, by law, we had to first apply to the Commonwealth Courts of Pennsylvania before going to the federal system. This we did last summer. On September 15th Judge Sabo denied all relief and we immediately appealed to the Pennsylvania Supreme court. That's where we are now. It's the last stop before going to the federal courts. The Pennsylvania Supreme Court will decide the case sometime toward the end of 1996.

However, just as we are about to utilize habeas corpus on Mumia's behalf (after a 14 year wait), the law on habeas corpus has undergone a dramatic change, "undermining the historic role of the Federal courts in correcting unconstitutional state court convictions and sentences," as noted by the New York Times editorial of March 13, 1996. The Counterterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act of 1995, signed into law in April, 1996, guts the Great Writ and leaves the fate of Mumia and the more than 3000 on death row to the tender mercies of state judges like Albert Sabo. It sets up strict time limits for filing and, more significant for Mumia, changes the rules under which federal judges can grant relief. It grants to state judges a "presumption of correctness" respecting their findings of fact (Sabo made more than 150 findings — each and every one against Mumia) and burdens the defendant to come up with "clear and convincing evidence" to prove the state findings wrong. It then allows executions to proceed if the state judges were merely wrong in their interpretation of federal rights they must be "unreasonably" wrong, whatever that is. While this law will certainly be challenged, and might be overturned or modified, it greatly complicates and burdens Mumia's chances for getting a new trial.

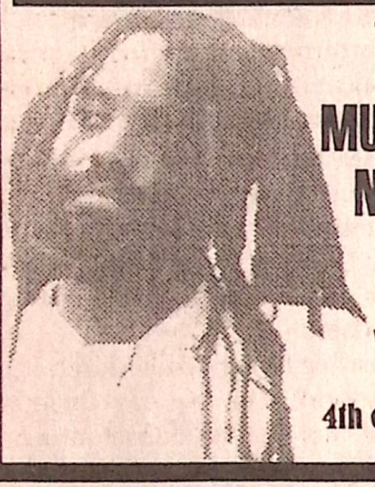
In the meantime we are still in the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania. We filed a 120 page brief on February 9, 1996 appealing Judge Sabo's ruling and setting forth 26 reasons why Mumia should get a new trial. The prosecution had till March 13th to respond. On the day their response was due the district attorney applied to the Supreme Court for an additional 60 days to file their answer until May 13, 1996, the anniversary of the bombing of Move in 1985. Once again on that due date they failed to file but again asked for an additional 10 days and permission to file a 200 page brief (the Rules limit their response to 70 pages). We have objected and are awaiting a decision as I write.

In any event we will be given several weeks to reply to their answering brief. It now looks like oral argument, if one is to be granted (we are requesting it) will not occur before the Fall.

While we're in the Supreme Court two developments ocurred worth noting: (1) the ACLU and NCBL filed a magnificent brief by Karl Baker challenging the legality of using Mumia's political beliefs, associations and statements against him in getting the death penalty; and (2) Justice Nix, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, and the only African American on the court, announced his retirement, effective July 1, 1996. He will therefore not be sitting on Mumia's case (in 1989 he did sit during oral argument, but recused himself prior to the decision, without comment).

NEW ADDRESS: Send legal fund donations to "Black United Fund/MAJ Account," 2227 N. Broad, Phila., PA 19132. Phone 215-236-2100.

The
Jamal Summit



FREE MUMIA NOW!

To a slave, what is your 4th of July?

Special July 4th Publication to Highlight the yearly gathering of The Free Mumia Movement for the Jamal Summit: on the anniversary of his 1982 conviction and death sentence. LET FREEDOM RING!

JOIN US AS WE MAKE PUBLISHING HISTORY . . .

introducing The Magazine of The Movement:

THE JAMAL SUMMIT

a revolutionary new publication from ICFAF-MAJ

You are invited to represent your self and/or your organization in these pages by placing placing an advertisement inside. There are 4 types of ads:

```
Full page.............$300 donation
Half page.............$150 donation
Quarter page..........$ 75 donation
Business Card.........$ 35 donation
```

==========

Special SIGNATURE Ad available:
Only $5 .... a chance to represent! Ad to be headlined ....
"We the undersigned support a new trial for Mumia Abu-Jamal."

Please make your check/money order payable to Black United Fund/Mumia Acct./Organization and send to: International Concerned Family & Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal, P.O. Box 19709, Phila., PA 19146.

For more information call the Mumia Hotline at **(215) 476-8812.**
[For Black United Fund of PA information call them at (215) 732-9266]

BREAK THE CHAINS!

By adding your strength and money to the **INTERNATIONAL CONCERNED FAMILY & FRIENDS OF MUMIA ABU-JAMAL** you're helping to save not only his life, but all our lives! If the government succeeds in murdering Mumia, *they can and will come and murder us all!*

Types of Memberships Available:

Student Memberships

$15 annually. Includes a subscription to *Jamal Journal.*

Regular Memberships

These are $40 annually, and can be made in 2 payments). Includes a subscription to *The Jamal Journal,* a Save Mumia button, and our *Mumia Update* newsletter.

Sustaining Memberships

These are $120 annually, and can be made in 12 monthly or 4 quarterly payments. Includes a subscription to *The Jamal Journal,* 2 buttons, a video tape, and our *Mumia Update* newsletter.

• *Make all checks payable to the*

YES! SIGN ME UP! HERE'S MY DONATION!

Send to ICFAF-MAJ.
P.O. Box 19709.
Phila., PA 19143

☐ **Student Membership** ($15)
☐ **Regular Membership** ($40)
☐ **Sustaining Membership** ($120)
☐ *Additional donation of* $_____, *designated for:*
☐ *Legal Defense* ☐ *Orgaization Expenses*

Name_____
Address_____
City/State/Zip_____
Phone/FAX/e-mail_____
ecks payable to *"Black United Fund/Mumia Acct/Organization"*

NEWS BRIEFS

Ramona Africa Testifies

As we go to press, The City of Phila., former Fire Commissioner William Richmond and former Police Commissioner Gregor Sambor are the defendants in a suit filed by Ramona Africa for the May 13, 1985 assault & bombing that killed 11 members of her family, including five children.

Hearings are being held every day at the Federal Courthouse at 601 Market St. Phila. This is a historic event that should not be missed. So far, Wilson Goode, Michael Moses Ward (Birdie Africa), Samborg, and others have testified.

Pastors for Peace

Support the fight to release 400 medical computers to Cuba. Fasting since Feb. 21, 1996, a group of civil rights and religious activist known as the Pastors for Peace are risking their lives to bring this important issue to light.

To support their efforts, contact the following officials and demand the release of the computers:

Secretary of Treasury: 202-622-5300 (FAX 622-0073)

Attorney Gen. Janet Reno: 202-514-20000 (FAX 514-0487)

Pres. Bill Clinton: 202-395-3000 (FAX 456-2461)

To contact IFCO (Interreligious Foundation for Community Organization) phone 212-926-5757.

Political Prisoner to Die June 14?

The execution date for Ziyon Ishva Yisrayah (Tommie Smith), who is on death row in Indiana, has been set for June 14th. Let us do what we still can: publicize this case and speak out against this killing.

Don't stand by and let another legal lynching take place in Indiana. People of conscience can petition the Indiana Parole Board and the Governor of Indiana for clemency for Ziyon:

Indiana Parole Board, E321 Indiana Government Center South , 302 West Washington Street, Indianapolis, IN 46204-2278

Governor Evan Bayh, Office of the Governor, The State House, Indianapolis, IN 46204; Phone: 317-232-4567; Fax: 317 232-3443

Free Leonard Peltier

This is a direct call to action to join us in Washington D.C. on June 26-28 for the Leonard Peltier Freedom Forum at American University, 4400 Massachusetts Ave., NW, and International Freedom Rally (27th) at the U.S. Capitol Building. For additional details call LPDC at (913) 842-5774 or (202) 783-2512.

Death Penalty Conference

We strongly encourage you to attend the 20th Anniversary Conference of the National Coalition to Abolish the Death Penalty, which will be held at Georgetown Univ. in Washington, D.C. from June 28-30. Register by calling 202-347-2411.

Nix Retiring

In early March, less than a month after Mumia's appeal was filed, PA Supreme Court Chief Justice Robert Nix announced his early retirement, saying he would leaveby the end of the next year, three years before the mandatory retirement age of 70. Nix is the only African American on the court. Although he was present for oral arguments during Mumia's 1989 direct appeal to the PA Supreme Court, he did not participate in the court's decision, and continues to shun involvement in Mumia's case.

N.P.C. Seeks Your Input

Over the past year, the National People's Campaign was one of the many organizations that fought to overturn the Contract on America. They welcome your input and ideas. Call the Philadelphia NPC at 215-724-1618, fax 215-729-3615, e-mail: philnpc@trend1.com

Come to our meetings every Monday at 7pm in Calvary Church, at 48th and Baltimore Ave., Phila., PA 19143. Free Mumia and all Political Prisoners!

geronimo ji jaga (Pratt) must be free!!

Political prisoner and former Black Panther was wrongly charged and convicted in 1969 for a murder the FBI and the government know he did not commit. Urge L.A. District Attorney Gil Garcetti to recommend a new trial in which all evidence will be heard. Urge Judge Bascue to grant a new trial.

L.A. District Attorney Gil Garcetti
Phone: 213-974-3501 / 3511
Fax: 213-974-1484 / 687-8525

Judge James A. Bascue
Phone: 213-974-5711
Fax: 213-680-8867

Free the Queens 2

As a direct result of their Black Panther Party membership and progressive political views, Bashir Hameed (James York) and Abdul Majid (Anthony LaBorde) were hunted, captured, framed and convicted of the 1981 murder and attempted murder of two police officers in St. Albans, Queens.

On May 2, 1996 a hearing was held by the Court of Appeals in Albany, NY for these two brothers. A decision on their appeal is expected in mid-July.

For more information contact The Campaign to Free Black Political Prisoners in the U.S., P.O. Box 339, Bronx, NY 10463-0339.

Other Upcoming Speaking Events:

May 29-June 1st: San Francisco Bay area. Call 415-391-3844, or 415-648-4505

June 19th: Boston. Juneteenth Celebration. A fundraiser for Mumia. Call 215-476-8812 for more info.

If you would like a member of ICFAF-MAJ to speak to your group, call us at 215-476-8812, and we'll try to find a way to make arrangements for someone to come to your town.

MALCOLM X & THE RACE POLICE

Column Written 5/13/96

Copyright © 1996 Mumia Abu-Jamal

How many of you who are reading this know who "Malachi Shabazz" is?

How about "Jack Carlton"?

If you've done your homework, some of you know these were names once used by the late Malcolm X — names listed among several others in Malcolm's extraordinary FBI files.

Malcolm's FBI files?

Yes — don't be surprised.

Not only did Malcolm have an extensive FBI surveillance, snitch, and political file, but I'd bet many of you have one as well.

Again — don't be surprised.

Harper's Index reports over 87 million people — none of these with criminal convictions — have fingerprints and other records in FBI files.

What are the chances you are in that number — 87,000,000! — ?

Would you be surprised to know that in this 'land of the free,' Malcolm's FBI file dates from when he was in prison — several years before he joined the Nation of Islam, and details his political views, not his criminal background?

His June 1950 file details a letter written by Malcolm Little in which the sentence, "I have always been a communist," is excerpted.

What this demonstrates is that the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, through its prison officials, was copying Malcom's mail, and forwarding it to the FBI — **two years before he even joined the Nation of Islam!**

Why, one wonders, would the U.S. government be interested in the mail of a small-time petty thief?

Malcolm told us that, of all our studies, history best rewards our research.

Examine this man's noble life, and you'll learn much, not only about Malcolm, but about the U.S. government, **your** government — this system.

Malcolm's FBI files placed him in good company, for the feds dogged others whose names you might recognize, like James Baldwin, W.E.B. DuBois, Marcus Garvey, Fanny Lou Hamer, Paul Robeson, and **both** Martin Luther Kings (Jr. and Sr.)!

What you'll find in common among them is the determination of all to speak out against this nation's wretched practice of white supremacy and oppression of Black Americans.

I remind you of these points in history, not to discourage you, but to encourage you — to study our people's history, and to speak out against this monster.

For it doesn't matter if you just write a letter — a single letter! — if it's against the system, you'll soon learn there are no rights, no constitutional protections, no freedoms.

There is only a government governed by fear, one which acts in stealth against those it claims are its 'citizens.'

Sources: **Black Americans: the FBI Files,** by Kenneth O'Reilly (1994)
The Judas Factor: the Plot to Kill Malcom X, by Karl Evanzz (1992)

WE MOVED!
Our new address is . . .
2227 N. Broad St., Phila., PA 19132
Phone: (215) 236-2100, *Fax:* 236-7539
e-mail: BUFPA@aol.com

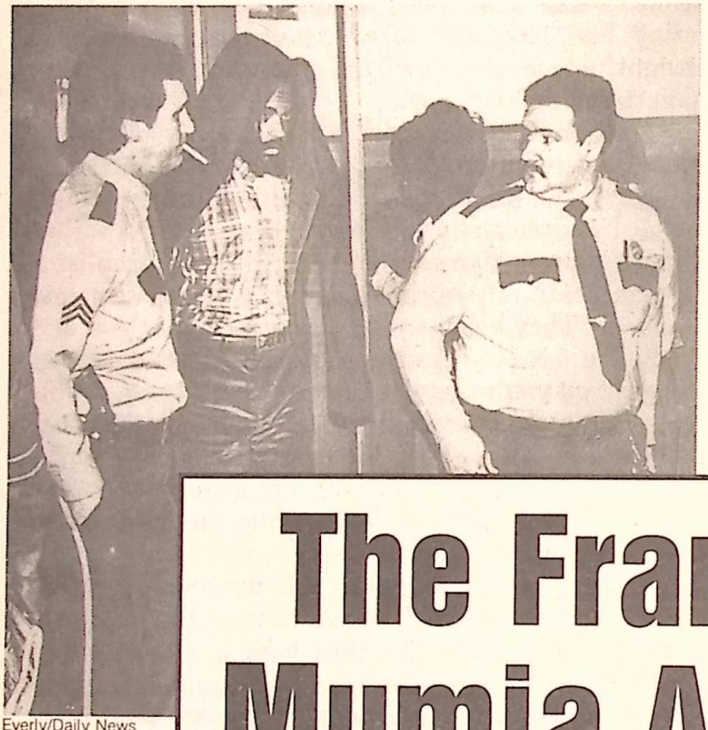
THE NEW STATEWIDE HEADQUARTERS FOR THE
BLACK UNITED FUND OF PENNSYLVANIA, INC.
An affiliate of the National Black United Fund
"The Helping Hand That Is Your Own"

T/SOR/49/5/2/3

PDC Partisan Defense Committee

July 1995 PAMPHLET X-523 50¢

1982 Trial a Mockery of Justice



Everly/Daily News

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to: 1 - Military Intelligence, Philadelphia
1 - Naval Investigative Service Office, Philadelphia
1 - Office of Special Investigation, Philadelphia
1 - Secret Service, Philadelphia

Report of: [redacted] b7C Office: PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA
Date: OCTOBER 24, 1969

Field Office File #: 157-3937 Bureau File #:

Title: WESLEY COOK

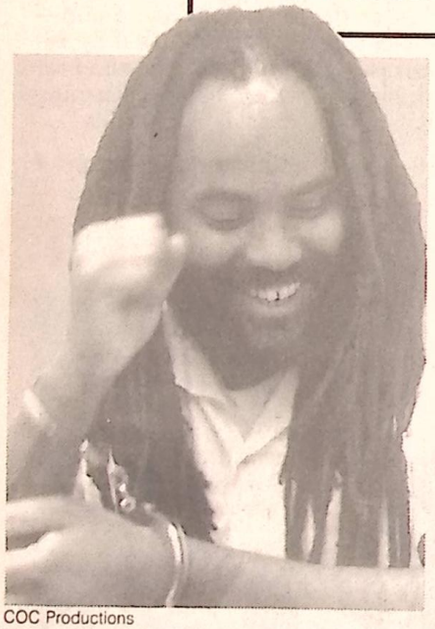
Character: RACIAL MATTER - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Synopsis: WESLEY COOK, Negro male, age 15, has been affiliated with the BPP in Philadelphia since 5/1/69. Between June and October, 1969, COOK functioned as Branch Secretary or Minister of Communications for the Philadelphia Branch of the BPP. On two occasions in August, 1969, COOK spoke at anti-war rallies in Philadelphia. Articles written by COOK for the official BPP newspaper, "The Black Panther" are set forth as are background and descriptive data.

- P -

b7C [redacted]

The Frame-Up of Mumia Abu-Jamal



COC Productions

Workers Vanguard Photo

Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!
Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!

Mumia Abu-Jamal's Life of Struggle

•For over 26 years, Mumia Abu-Jamal, 41, has been in the cross hairs of Philadelphia's racist cops. At the age of 14, Jamal was beaten and arrested for protesting a presidential rally for Alabama governor George "Segregation Forever" Wallace, held in the white racist bastion of South Philly—home of Mayor Frank Rizzo. He fought to change the name of Benjamin Franklin High School to Malcolm X High School and was later expelled for circulating pamphlets calling for "black revolutionary student power."

•Co-founder and Minister of Information of the Philadelphia chapter of the Black Panther Party in 1969 at the age of 15: Jamal wrote for the *Black Panther*, which, he recalled, "charged my pen with a distinctive anti-authoritarian, and anti-establishment character that survives to this day." He wrote Panther leaflets which drew death threats from the Police Civil Disobedience Squad. As Minister of Information, Mumia was featured in a front-page article in the *Philadelphia Inquirer* in January 1970. The FBI and Philadelphia police began daily surveillance of Jamal, including putting him on the FBI's Security Index and the ADEX list. While still in his teens, he was arrested during one of many cop raids during the notorious FBI/cop COINTELPRO conspiracy against the Black Panther Party.

•Widely acclaimed journalist: Jamal was broadcast around the country on the National Black Network, Mutual Black Network, National Public Radio, the Associated Press and Radio Information Center for the Blind. He interviewed Julius Erving, Bob Marley, Alex Haley, Puerto Rican independence fighters and international public figures. His work was guided by "the principle that we are oppressed Black human beings first." Jamal spoke "of the triumphs and tragedies of poor and oppressed Black and Hispanic people with passion and eloquence—in both English and the Spanish language." He was elected president of the Philadelphia chapter of the Association of Black Journalists at age 26 in 1980. *Philadelphia Magazine* named Jamal one of its "people to watch" in 1981, citing his "eloquent, often passionate, and always insightful interviews [which] bring a special dimension to radio reporting."

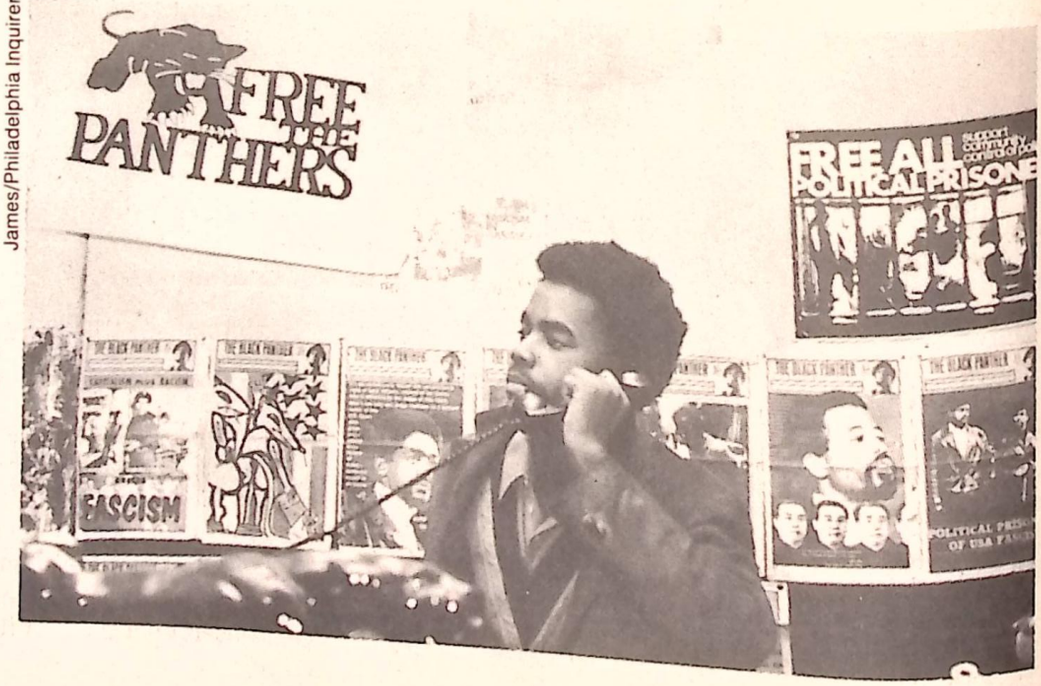
•Well-known supporter of Philadelphia MOVE: Jamal covered Rizzo's 8 August 1978 press conference following the siege on the Powelton Village MOVE home by more than 600 heavily armed cops earlier that day. Rizzo blamed the "new breed of journalism" for the death of one cop during the cop assault and warned, "They believe what you write, what you say. And it's got to stop. And one day, and I hope it's in my career, that you're going to have to be held responsible and accountable for what you do." Jamal recalls that after the Powelton Village cop attack, he "gave voice to the members of the MOVE organization.... Most black reporters ignored them, while the white press slandered them."

Jamal was conspicuous for his uniquely favorable interviews with MOVE members from the depths of Philadelphia jails. He describes how:

> "While walking to work one day I...passed in front of an idling cop car—I glanced at the driver, white, with brown hair, and wearing dark shades. He 'smiled,' pulled his hand out of the car, and pointed a finger at me, his thumb and other fingers cocked like a gun—Bang! Bang! Bang!—the finger-gun jerked as if by recoil, and, the cop returns his fire-finger to the window, giving it a cowboyish blast of breath, before returning it to an imaginary 'holster.' He & pal laff. Car rolls."

continued on page 4

James/Philadelphia Inquirer



Mumia Abu-Jamal in 1969 as Minister of Information for Philadelphia Black Panther Party.

1982 Trial a Mockery of Justice

The Frame-Up of Mumia Abu-Jamal

This article is reprinted from Workers Vanguard *No. 625 (30 June 1995), the biweekly newspaper of the Spartacist League.*

On Monday, June 5, Mumia Abu-Jamal's legal team, led by prominent civil liberties attorney Leonard Weinglass, filed some 500 pages of legal papers seeking a new trial and the overturn of Jamal's death sentence. Early the previous Friday morning, as he was preparing his case in the prison law library at Pennsylvania's Greene Correctional Institution isolation facility, Jamal was handed an execution warrant by prison authorities. He was immediately removed from there, deprived of his notes and other possessions and taken to a new cell in an even more restrictive area of death row where prisoners are held after warrants have been signed. Knowing full well that Jamal's lawyers were about to submit papers which unambiguously demonstrated his innocence, on the night of June 1 Governor Tom Ridge had nevertheless gone ahead and signed Jamal's death warrant scheduling his execution by lethal injection for August 17. Ridge's aim, he cynically proclaimed, was "to fulfill a campaign promise." This vindictive act was but the latest chapter in the grotesque history of the racist state vendetta against Mumia Abu-Jamal.

For 13 years, Mumia Abu-Jamal has been imprisoned on death row, falsely charged and convicted for the killing of Philadelphia police officer Daniel Faulkner in December 1981. For 13 years, Jamal has proclaimed his innocence and indicted the system of racist injustice that seeks to kill him. He has powerfully accused his accusers of a politically motivated frame-up, a frame-up aimed at silencing forever his powerful voice on behalf of the oppressed. By the time of his arrest, Jamal was widely recognized as one of the most prominent young broadcast journalists in Philadelphia and president of the Philadelphia chapter of the Association of Black Journalists. For his fearless and incisive exposures of racism and police brutality, Mumia had earned the title the "voice of the voiceless"—as well as the undying hatred of the Philadelphia cops and their "law and order" allies in government and the media.

In many respects, Mumia was accorded the frame-up "justice" typically meted out to black people by this capitalist system, which regularly railroads ghetto youth into prison hellholes and has the highest rate of incarceration of any industrialized Western country.

no credit

Jamal in hospital after being shot and beaten by cops, December 1981. Failing to kill him in the streets, the "justice" system framed him up and now threatens to execute this courageous fighter for the oppressed.

But in this case there was more. Mumia Abu-Jamal was not just an ordinary young black man who got ensnared in a racist nightmare by being in the wrong place at the wrong time. As a Black Panther Party activist, journalist, potential black leader and later supporter of the Philadelphia MOVE organization, Mumia was *targeted for death* by the forces of "law and order."

As 700 pages of FBI files recently released after a three-year battle show, from the time he emerged as a 15-year-old spokesman for the Philadelphia Panthers in 1969, he was subjected to constant surveillance, harassment and frame-up attempts by the FBI's COINTELPRO terror operation aimed at "neutralizing" black and leftist militants. A 24 October 1969 FBI report urging that Jamal be placed under high-level surveillance noted:

> "In spite of the subject's age (15 years), Philadelphia feels that his continued participation in BPP activities in the Philadelphia Division, his position in the Philadelphia Branch of the BPP, and his past inclination to appear and speak at public gatherings, the subject should be included on the Security Index."

When Mumia told MOVE's side of the story following a bloody 1978 cop siege of its Powelton Village home, then mayor and former police commissioner Frank Rizzo fingered a "new breed" of journalist, such as Jamal, which, he threatened, would one day "be held responsible and accountable for what you do." Three years later, on a dark Philadelphia street at four in the

morning, the cops finally got the chance they'd been waiting for.

The case of Mumia Abu-Jamal has come to symbolize what the barbaric and racist death penalty is all about, and the "law and order" reactionaries hate him for this as well. They seek to paint the 3,000 people —overwhelmingly poor, black or Hispanic—on the country's death rows as nameless, faceless sadistic killers. And Mumia's eloquent and compassionate voice puts the lie to that.

The Philadelphia Fraternal Order of Police (FOP) and its allies have waged a vicious and frenzied vendetta to silence Jamal and intimidate his supporters. Following a rally for Jamal in Philadelphia in 1990, FOP head Richard Costello screamed for the electric chair for Mumia and an "electric couch" for his supporters. When last year National Public Radio agreed to air a series of commentaries on prison life by Jamal, the FOP launched a noisy campaign of intimidation which was taken up by Republican Senator Dole and succeeded in censoring Jamal. And Democratic president Clinton has made a point of appearing at the FOP's annual Washington, D.C. rallies for cop power.

When a collection of Jamal's prison commentaries was brought out this May as a book by a major publisher, *Live from Death Row* (Addison-Wesley, 1995), the forces who want to see him dead orchestrated a high-powered media campaign seeking to drown out the passionate humanity expressed in his writings. The big media, ranging from the *Washington Post* to the *New York Post* and Dan Rather's CBS-TV *Evening News*, tried to demonize Mumia as a vicious and sadistic "cop killer" by cynically parading around the dead cop's widow. In account after nauseating account, Maureen Faulkner "recalled" how Jamal "smiled" at her while a criminalist held up her husband's bloodied shirt during the trial to display the bullet holes. *But, as the trial transcript shows, Jamal was not even in the courtroom when this alleged incident happened.*

The forces of death have also propagated the lie that Jamal was accorded "due process" of law and found guilty by a "jury of his peers." Thus, in a June 2 letter to actors Ed Asner and Mike Farrell and other prominent supporters of Jamal, on the official stationery of Philadelphia District Attorney Lynne Abraham, Assistant D.A. Arnold Gordon wrote:

> "From an evidentiary standpoint, the case against Mumia Abu-Jamal was overwhelming, one of the strongest I have seen in my twenty-five years as a prosecutor. A jury found him guilty and pronounced a justly deserved death sentence."

In fact, Mumia's trial was a mockery of justice from beginning to end, deeply tainted in every respect, as we will show in detail in examining the "overwhelming" evidence outlined by Gordon and presented by the prosecution in June-July 1982. As lead counsel Len Weinglass said at a June 5 press conference following the filing of the legal papers, "Mumia Abu-Jamal never had a trial." As these papers document, the "trial" was replete with violations of Jamal's constitutional rights and marked by widespread police and prosecutorial misconduct, including suppression of evidence of Jamal's innocence, coercion of witnesses and racist elimination of potential black jurors. In an article in *New York Newsday* (22 June), writer Terry Bisson captured the blatant miscarriage of justice at Jamal's trial:

> "Abu-Jamal's murder trial was a policeman's dream. Denied the right to represent himself, he was defended by a reluctant incompetent who was later disbarred (and who has since filed an affidavit detailing his delinquencies). Abu-Jamal was prosecuted by a district

Life of Struggle...

(continued from page 2)

His esteem among colleagues was so great that the day after his arrest, the *Philadelphia Inquirer* (10 December 1981) wrote a feature article, "The Suspect—Jamal: An eloquent activist not afraid to raise his voice." The *Inquirer* described him as a "gadfly among journalists and easily recognizable because of his dreadlock hairstyle, revolutionary politics and deep baritone voice," and noted he was credited with opening up the Association of Black Journalists to minority groups less organized than blacks "who usually never had access to the press in getting their voice heard."

On 3 July 1982, Jamal was sentenced to die in the electric chair. The prosecutor won his sixth death penalty with the argument that Mumia planned to kill a cop for the past dozen years. His "proof" was Jamal's membership in the Black Panther Party! The D.A. cited the 1970 *Philadelphia Inquirer* article in which Mumia uses the Panther slogan, "All power to the people!" He assured a death sentence by telling his jury that Jamal would never die—he would have "appeal after appeal after appeal." In 1989 and again in 1990, the Pennsylvania Supreme Court denied Jamal's effort to appeal his death sentence. Then, on 1 October 1990 and again on 26 November 1990, the U.S. Supreme Court denied Jamal's petitions for review of his conviction and death sentence.

On 1 June 1995, Tom Ridge, elected governor of Pennsylvania in November 1994 on a right-wing "law and order" platform, signed the warrant for Jamal's execution on August 17—one of *15* executions ordered by "Governor Death" since taking office. Ridge acted with full knowledge that on June 5 Jamal's attorneys were filing a Pennsylvania state court petition for review of Jamal's conviction and sentence and for the removal of "hanging judge" Albert Sabo from hearing his appeal. The signing of the warrant has touched off a growing international protest, drawing in increasing numbers of anti-racist youth, trade unionists, artistic celebrities and many others. The fight to save Mumia from legal lynching has become *the* focal point of struggle against the racist death penalty in the U.S. ■

Workers Vanguard Photo

Philadelphia, June 5: Several hundred marched to protest planned execution of Jamal following press conference by his lawyers.

attorney who was later reprimanded for withholding evidence in another trial. Abu-Jamal was allowed only $150 to interview witnesses.

"But best of all was the judge. A life-time member of the Fraternal Order of Police, branded a 'defendant's nightmare' by the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, Judge Albert F. Sabo has sentenced more men to die (31 to date, only two of them white) than any other sitting judge in America. A fellow judge once called his courtroom a 'vacation for prosecutors' because of his bias toward convictions."

From the time the Partisan Defense Committee took up Jamal's case more than eight years ago, we have emphasized that the fight to save him cannot rely on the capitalist courts but rather must look to the mobilization of the masses, centrally the social power of the labor movement. Since then, trade unions representing millions of workers—in the U.S., Britain, France, Germany, South Africa and elsewhere—have spoken out for Jamal. Many tens of thousands, perhaps hundreds of thousands, have signed petitions or written letters to the Pennsylvania governor's office demanding that "Mumia Abu-Jamal must not die!" Thousands have taken to the street, including in emergency demonstrations following the signing of the death warrant. Thousands must now be turned into tens and hundreds of thousands, bringing to bear the weight of the working class in this urgent phase of the struggle to save Mumia and secure his freedom.

The Prosecution's Case: Three Legs, All Lies

In dissecting the travesty of justice which placed Mumia Abu-Jamal on death row, we will begin by looking at the prosecution's account of the shooting incident. What happened in the early morning hours of 9 December 1981? It is undisputed that the events unfolded when an old VW owned by Jamal's brother, Billy, was pulled over by Faulkner. One of the occupants got out. The cop started beating him. Jamal, who was moonlighting as a cab driver at the time, happened to be in the area and saw this. These events took place at about 3:55 in the morning in the middle of Philly's red light district. The street was dark, but the bars were closing and a number of people were in the area on foot or driving through. A number of shots rang out. The whole incident lasted less than two minutes, and a number of police cars immediately began converging on the scene. Jamal was found critically wounded from a bullet through the chest. Nearby lay a wounded Faulkner. Jamal eventually recovered after surgery, but the cop died an hour later.

As Jamal's lead counsel Leonard Weinglass said at the Philadelphia press conference on June 5, the prosecution's case against Jamal rested on three legs. First, the prosecution claimed three eyewitnesses identified Jamal as the shooter. Second, the prosecution claimed Jamal "confessed" to the shooting when he arrived at the hospital to be treated for his wounds. Third, the prosecution argued that the fact that Jamal's gun was found at the scene showed he did the shooting. As Jamal's new legal filings show in careful detail, each prosecution claim was false and based on evidence which had been twisted around to implicate Jamal.

1 The Non-Smoking Gun: Ballistics and Forensics

Let us first deal with the question of the gun and the shooting. The prosecution theory of what happened during the shooting incident, as outlined by

Assistant D.A. Gordon in his June 2 letter, runs as follows:

> "Abu-Jamal, who had been driving a cab in the area, ran from across the street toward Officer Faulkner. Abu-Jamal shot the officer once in the back. Officer Faulkner fell to the ground; Abu-Jamal aimed and shot the officer four more times, including a shot through the center of his face. Officer Faulkner was able to fire one shot at Abu-Jamal during the shooting."

Gordon goes on to say that the bullet that killed Faulkner was "fired within twenty inches of the officer's face," the one in his back "was fired from a distance of approximately nine inches, and the shots that went through his clothing, were also fired at extremely close range." According to Gordon, two guns were recovered at the scene: "Officer Faulkner's weapon had been fired once, and Abu-Jamal's weapon contained five spent cartridges." These were +P cartridges, and, says Gordon, "The bullet that was removed from Officer Faulkner was also a +P bullet, but it was so mutilated that no comparison could be made to a bullet test fired from Abu-Jamal's gun."

Note carefully that Gordon does not talk of *Jamal's* gun having been *fired*. If you want to find out whether a gun has been fired recently, it's not hard: just smell the barrel for the odor of burnt gunpowder. (Ballistics experts say that the smell remains for four to five hours, and certainly would be present after four to five minutes.) Either the police incredibly failed to perform this simple test, or they hid the fact that Jamal's gun was indeed not used that night. As for the +P bullets, this variety of pistol ammunition is widely available. And while cops say Jamal's gun, which was licensed to him, had five spent cartridges, the cops never recovered more than three bullets from the scene. One of these was removed from Faulkner's body. As Jamal's legal brief notes, "the Medical Examiner judged the fatal bullet to be a .44 caliber. Mr. Jamal's gun was a .38 caliber pistol."

The police crime lab reported just enough test results to show that the rifling pattern of Jamal's gun (eight lands and grooves and a right-hand twist) was "consistent" with the bullet that killed the cop. But there are millions of guns with that rifling pattern in the U.S. A ballistics expert retained by Jamal's current legal team, having examined the police reports, lists a series of "issues of a firearm evidence nature which required further investigation and testing." Either police failed to do the normal tests or, more likely, the results proved Jamal's gun was not used and so they were kept secret. Particularly damning is the cops' failure to report if they tested Jamal's hands for gunshot residue. Yet, the ballistics expert pointed out, "In 1981 such tests were frequently performed when a suspect was apprehended immediately after a shooting incident." The police ballistics report was so inconclusive that a Homicide Division captain admitted at the time:

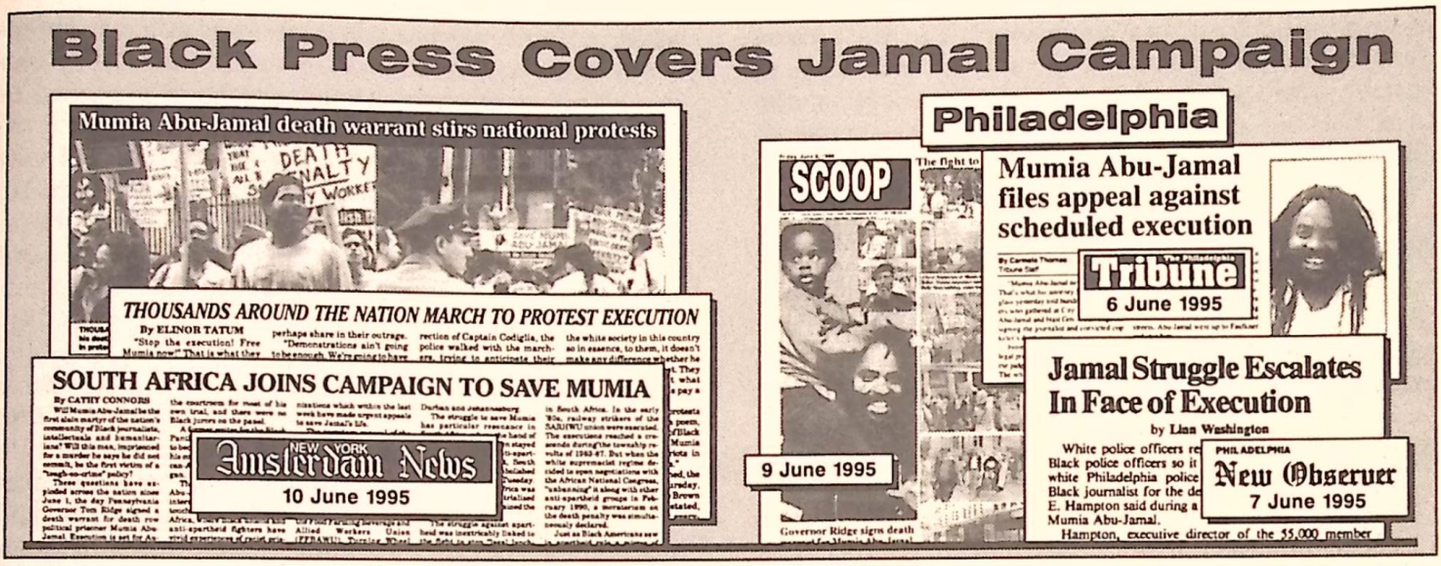
> "One expert might say the bullet came from Mumia's gun and another might be brought in from Iowa who will say, 'I've got 20 years' experience and I say it didn't come from that gun.' We just don't know."
>
> —Philadelphia *Bulletin*, 11 December 1981

A re-examination by Jamal's experts of the foren-

Ligato/Philadelphia Bulletin

Philadelphia Daily News

Rizzo's racist cops terrorize blacks in Philadelphia. Above: Panthers were dragged out on the street, forced to strip and searched at gunpoint in 1970 raid. Right: Philly cops beat Delbert Africa in 1978 raid on MOVE home in Powelton Village.


Black Press Covers Jamal Campaign
Mumia Abu-Jamal death warrant stirs national protests
THOUSANDS AROUND THE NATION MARCH TO PROTEST EXECUTION
By ELINOR TATUM
SOUTH AFRICA JOINS CAMPAIGN TO SAVE MUMIA
By CATHY CONNORS
NEW YORK Amsterdam News
10 June 1995
Philadelphia
SCOOP
Mumia Abu-Jamal files appeal against scheduled execution
Tribune
6 June 1995
Jamal Struggle Escalates In Face of Execution
by Lisa Washington
9 June 1995
PHILADELPHIA New Observer
7 June 1995

sics reports also disproves the prosecution theory of *how* the shooting took place. If Faulkner was shot at "extremely close range," there normally would have been gunshot residue (stippling) on the back of his jacket, but there was none. Moreover, the prosecution claim that Jamal was shot while standing over an already wounded Faulkner is physically impossible, according to Dr. John A. Hayes, a forensic pathologist who is the New York City Associate Medical Examiner and a former chief resident in anatomic pathology at the Boston University School of Medicine. Dr. Hayes points out that the bullet Faulkner fired at Jamal had a steep downward trajectory, entering his chest at the nipple and lodging in his lower back.

2 The "Confession": A Belated Fabrication

The second leg of the prosecution's case is that Jamal—an experienced court reporter and journalist—supposedly made a loud "confession" of guilt in the hospital. Again we quote Assistant D.A. Gordon:

> "While doctors were attempting to provide emergency treatment to Officer Faulkner, other police officers were trying, despite Abu-Jamal's resistance, to bring him into the emergency room. While in the vestibule, Abu-Jamal turned to Officer Faulkner's former partner and said, 'I shot the mother fucker and I hope the mother fucker dies.' Abu-Jamal shouted this again when he was brought within a few feet of the area where Officer Faulkner was being unsuccessfully treated. (Hospital workers testified to Jamal's rantings at his trial.)"

In the first place, by the time Jamal was brutally dumped on the floor outside the door of the emergency room, with his arms handcuffed behind his back, he was in no condition to shout or "rant" much of anything. He had been shot through the liver, with a bullet lodged against his spine. A doctor who examined Jamal no more than ten minutes after his arrival found him "weak...on the verge of fainting." Another doctor who saw Jamal when he was first brought in—at the time of the alleged confession—only heard him moan as a cop kicked him.

The "hospital workers" who claimed to hear Jamal loudly proclaim his guilt were a cop and a security guard. The cop was Garry Bell, Faulkner's partner and "best friend," who admitted he threatened to kill Jamal. (Three years earlier, Bell had shot dead a motorist after pulling him over for an alleged traffic violation in the middle of the night in the black ghetto of West Philadelphia.) The security guard, who first lied that she didn't know Faulkner at all, subsequently admitted that she'd frequently had coffee with him.

More importantly, neither Bell nor the security guard said anything about a "confession" until *more than two months after the fact*, when Jamal pressed brutality charges against the cops who beat him at the hospital. It was not in Bell's police log that night nor in a statement he gave a week later. However, Gary Wakshul, the cop who was assigned to guard Jamal and was with him the entire time between his arrest and his medical treatment, wrote in his official report that day that "during this time the negro male made no statements."

3 The Witnesses: Coercion and Concoctions

Now we come to the prosecution's "eyewitnesses." Gordon writes:

> "Officer Shoemaker, the first officer on the scene, saw Officer Faulkner lying in a pool of blood and saw Abu-Jamal sitting on the curb next to a gun. He ordered Abu-Jamal to freeze. Abu-Jamal instead reached for the gun. Officer Shoemaker again yelled, 'freeze,' but Abu-Jamal continued reaching for his weapon which the officer kicked out of his reach.... Abu-Jamal was identified as the shooter on the scene by *three eyewitnesses* who had never lost sight of him during the entire incident."

Even by the cops' own accounts of what happened at the time, this story stinks. The "three eyewitnesses" were Cynthia White, a prostitute who said she was working the southeast corner at 13th and Locust at the time of the shooting; Robert Chobert, a cab driver; and Mark Scanlan, a young white motorist who candidly admitted he'd been drinking and what

he remembered was "confusion." On the scene, Scanlan told police that Jamal was the VW driver, and said he didn't know where the shooter went. At the trial, Scanlan said he couldn't identify the shooter at all. Furthermore, none of these "eyewitnesses who had never lost sight" of Jamal saw him being shot.

As for Chobert, he initially told arriving police that the shooter was 225 pounds and "ran away." Chobert later said the shooter ran "30 steps," and then changed that at the trial to only ten feet. Jamal, however, weighed 170 pounds and was found where he fell critically wounded at the scene. Chobert, who is white, supposedly identified Jamal from among three black men with dreadlocks on the scene that night. Chobert's "identification" of Jamal consisted of the police asking "is that the guy?" as they opened the van in which Jamal lay with his face and chest "very, very bloody" (as another witness reported). During this period, Chobert was on probation for felony arson (he was paid for throwing a Molotov cocktail at a school), with two prior charges for driving while intoxicated. Given that his livelihood depended on driving a taxi, this made him eminently susceptible to police pressure.

The star prosecution witness was Cynthia White. She was the *only* trial witness who claimed to see Jamal, gun in hand, shoot Faulkner. Initially even she denied seeing Jamal with a gun. White claimed the shooter was 5′8″—Jamal is 6′1″. White claimed to be standing right where the VW pulled over. But no other witness—including Chobert and Scanlan—saw her there, and the only witness who recalled seeing her at all said she was over a half block away. White had a police record a mile long. At the time of the trial, she was serving 18 months for prostitution in Massachusetts, with 38 prior arrests and three prostitution charges awaiting trial in Philadelphia. Following the shooting, Faulkner's precinct was given her photo and told to refer her to the Homicide Division if she was taken in. In the next ten days, she was taken to Homicide twice—on prostitution charges! Each time she was let off; each time she tailored her story more to the cops' liking to implicate Jamal.

The prosecution primly denied that White had been offered a deal for her testimony. But another witness, Veronica Jones, a prostitute who knew her, testified that a few weeks after the shooting, police hauled Jones in and offered to give her a deal like White:

> "They were getting on me, telling me I was in the area and I seen Mumia, you know, do it, you know, intentionally. They were trying to get me to say something that the other girl said...and they told us we can work the area if we tell them."

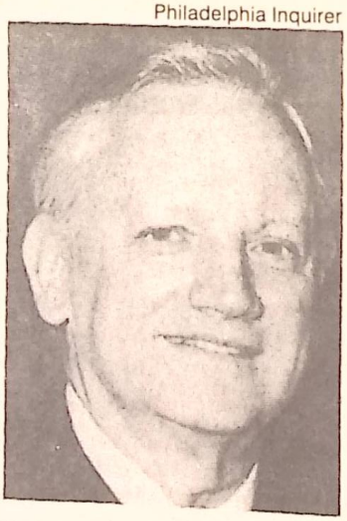
Judge Sabo struck that testimony from the record as "not relevant" and "far afield." However, White did indeed continue to "work the area" not only with impunity, but *with police protection*. A recent affidavit by an investigator who tried (unsuccessfully) to interview White on Jamal's behalf at the time reveals: "There were always two (2) plainclothesmen near where she worked her corner on Locust." So much for the prosecution's "three eyewitnesses."

On the other hand, while only the dubious White claimed (belatedly) to "see" Jamal shoot Faulkner, at least *five witnesses* saw a black male run from the scene after the shooting in the direction of an alley about the distance of Chobert's "30 steps" away. Two of them, Chobert and William Singletary, explicitly said the running man was the shooter. Jones also initially reported seeing one or two men "sort of jogging" away, but later recanted under police pressure. Dessie Hightower, a defense witness, actually testified at the trial that he saw a black man flee the scene after the shooting. Another witness, Debbie Kordansky, who was not available for testimony, also saw a man run away in the same direction.

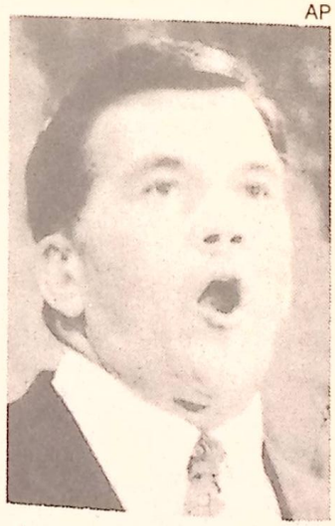
Singletary was threatened with violence and arrest during his interview at police headquarters, as the

Camino Books

Philadelphia Inquirer



AP



Rizzo with his hero, J. Edgar Hoover, in 1972. Above: "Prosecutor in robes" Judge Sabo and Pennsylvania "Governor Death" Tom Ridge.

cops threw away every statement he wrote until he finally relented by denying that he had seen the shooting. Following this, he was repeatedly harassed and threatened at his place of business, until he finally shut down and moved to another state. Singletary's story, which the police kept from Jamal and his attorney at the time, has been revealed for the first time in Jamal's new legal filings.

Finally, as to Assistant D.A. Gordon's claim that Jamal "reached for the gun" when the cops arrived on the scene, that story was invented by cop Shoemaker to justify his kicking Jamal, wounded and bleeding, in the face. The report filed that night by Shoemaker's own partner noted only that Jamal was pleading for help—saying, "I'm shot, I'm shot"—while the partner "went to the curb and recovered two revolvers... because I saw an intoxicated white male walk down from the corner...[and] was concerned about him going near the weapons."

The "Trial": A Travesty of Justice

1 A Hanging Judge

This, then, was the morass of contrived, coerced, partial and contradictory "evidence" which Assistant D.A. Gordon claims to be "overwhelming, one of the strongest" cases he has ever seen. To secure a conviction on this basis, the cops, prosecutors and courts saw to it that Mumia was denied even a semblance of "due process," from his initial arraignment to jury selection to final sentencing. During the course of the trial, Jamal repeatedly protested the violation of his rights, exclaiming on one occasion:

> "I have been told from the duration of this trial, the beginning of the trial, the inception of the trial, that I had a number of constitutional rights. Chiefly among them the right to represent myself. The right to select a jury of my peers. The right to face witnesses and examine them based on information they have given. Those rights were taken from me.... I want my rights in this courtroom because my life is on the line."

Jamal got a "trial" in name only. He had no counsel to speak of. An indigent man jailed without bail, Jamal was granted only $150 each for an investigator and medical and ballistics experts. No pathologist or ballistician would accept so low a retainer, and the investigator ran out of funds after tracking down only two of the over 100 people interviewed by the police. His court-appointed attorney, Anthony Jackson, protested he was too busy to handle the case and needed help. Four times, Jackson requested additional funds from the court; four times, the request was denied. Finally, Jamal asked to represent himself and prepared his own case for trial. Then, on the first day of the trial, the court completely stripped Jamal of his self-representation rights and forced Jackson to take over the defense. When Jamal protested, he was ejected from the court and missed large portions of the trial. That left the unprepared, unwilling and bungling Jackson—who failed even to subpoena witnesses or prepare them before putting them on the stand—to handle the defense alone.

Sabo is the most notorious hanging judge in the country, the "king of death row." He had served for 16 years as an undersheriff and is a retired member of the Fraternal Order of Police. Even former prosecutors have called Sabo a "prosecutor in robes." When he learned he had been rated unqualified by one-third of attorneys surveyed, Sabo openly bragged about his pro-prosecution bias, saying if he were a defense attorney "I wouldn't vote for me, either."

The prosecutor, Joseph McGill, was no stranger to frame-up prosecutions. McGill put another defendant, Matthew Connor, away on a life sentence for allegedly shooting a young girl, largely on the basis that a shotgun was found in his home; only after eleven years did it come to light that the girl had been killed not with a shotgun but with an ice pick! McGill's jury arguments against Jamal were a textbook in prosecutorial dirty tricks. With Judge Sabo egging him to "go ahead," McGill told the jury not to worry about sentencing Jamal to death because he would have "appeal after appeal after appeal." Knowing this case had racially polarized the city, McGill pushed the overwhelmingly white jury to return a conviction because "the people of Philadelphia" demand "action."

2 A Kangaroo Court

In a "bedside arraignment" on 9 December 1981, Jamal was charged with murder in the first degree, i.e., premeditated murder. But even by the cops' own account, there could have been no premeditation in this shooting incident which, from the time Faulkner pulled over the VW until he lay wounded on the street, lasted less than two minutes. Presiding over the arraignment was... Municipal Judge Lynne Abraham, currently Philadelphia D.A.

Long before Mumia had his "day in court," he had been tried and convicted by the Philadelphia media. Faulkner's death was front-page news—and he was treated with all the sympathy and honor the capitalist press accords a dead cop—while Jamal was a prominent and controversial black personality. While an initial *Philadelphia Inquirer* (10 December 1981) headline read, "Jamal: An Eloquent Activist Not Afraid to Raise His Voice," the Philly *Daily News* (9 December 1981) was quick to point out that Jamal "wears his hair in dreadlocks and was associated with several black activist causes."

Radio talk shows were flooded with calls, some of them demanding that Jamal be lynched. Article after article hammered away at his connections with MOVE and the Black Panthers, repeatedly invoking the Panthers' use of the Maoist slogan, "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

Two days after the shooting, the *Daily News* falsely reported that "Preliminary ballistics tests indicate the shots that killed Police Officer Faulkner were fired

from the gun recovered from radio newsman Mumia Abu-Jamal." Four weeks later, a front-page headline blared, "Jamal Confessed," attributing the claim not to Garry Bell but to a police inspector (who was subsequently convicted on payoff and tax evasion charges). This inspector was never called to testify at Jamal's trial. By the time of the trial, all but seven of the 80 or so members of the jury pool admitted to being familiar with media coverage of the case.

Judge Sabo and prosecutor McGill carefully screened the jury to ensure its "law and order" bias. On the third day of jury selection, Sabo denied Jamal—who was then still formally representing himself—the right to interview prospective jurors, claiming that the pace was too slow. McGill systematically excluded blacks from the jury, using eleven of his 15 peremptory challenges to remove all but three of 14 potential black jurors. One of the remaining three, a black woman who was the only juror personally selected by Jamal and who the judge had opposed from the beginning, was then removed by Sabo behind Jamal's back after she left briefly before the trial began to attend to a personal emergency. (When a white juror had to leave for a day in the middle of testimony, Sabo not only provided him with a court escort but rescheduled the proceedings to suit him.) The black juror was then replaced by a white man who openly confessed to bias in the case when interviewed by Jamal's attorney.

New evidence also reveals that during jury deliberations a clique of white jurors formed a secret faction which met to discuss the case at night and then took over the deliberations by picking one of their own as foreman.

In being excluded from the judge's consultation over the black juror and another secret consultation, Jamal's rights were violated both as legal counsel and as defendant. When Jackson protested on one occasion, "I would not want to do that out of the presence of Mr. Jamal," Sabo snapped back: "I don't care about Mr. Jamal." Indeed, Jamal's rights were violated time and again during the trial. The court rejected repeated requests for a lineup to test White and Chobert's identification of Jamal. The court allowed the cops and prosecution to refuse to hand over the addresses of people they interviewed. The prosecution not only concealed evidence of Jamal's innocence, but also intimidated and coerced witnesses to conform to the cops' story. This was a clear and flagrant violation of the constitutional right to due process.

The *Brady* rule stipulates that the prosecution's failure to disclose evidence favorable to the defense invalidates a guilty verdict. The most egregious example of this in Jamal's case is how the cops threatened Singletary into changing his story and then forced him out of town. But it is not the only instance. The prosecution refused to reveal that one of the witnesses (Hightower) who saw a man run from the shooting scene had passed a lie detector test. They hid the fact that at least one other witness (Robert Harkins) was shown a photo array and apparently did not identify Jamal as the shooter. Harkins was never called to testify and recently admitted to Jamal's new investigator that a "detective 'downtown'" told him "not to talk with anyone from the defense." The prosecution also withheld numerous other pieces of information, including secret meetings with witnesses and evidence concerning the unreliability of the autopsy.

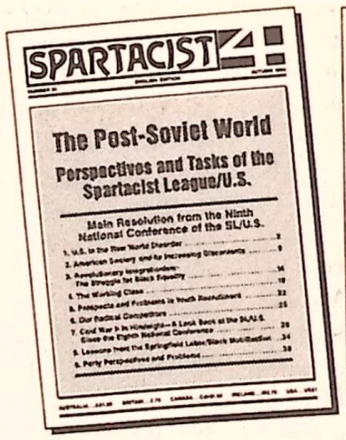
Spartacist Publications

SUBSCRIBE!

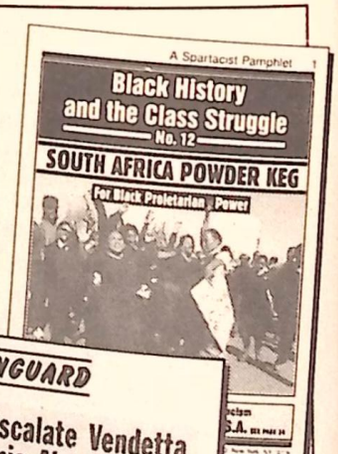
Workers Vanguard

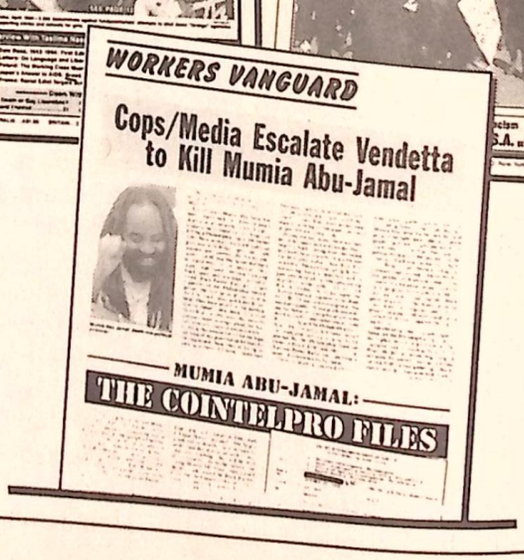
Marxist Working-Class Biweekly
of the Spartacist League (includes
English-language *Spartacist*,
Women and Revolution and
Black History and the Class Struggle)

☐ $10 for 22 issues
☐ $2 for 6 introductory issues
☐ International rates:
$25 airmail/$10 seamail


SPARTACIST
The Post-Soviet World
Perspectives and Tasks of the Spartacist League/U.S.
Main Resolution from the Ninth National Conference of the SL/U.S.

Women and Revolution
Islamic Fundamentalists Vow to Kill Woman Writer
Defend Taslima Nasrin!
Women and the Permanent Revolution in Bangladesh





Name _____

Address _____

Apt. # _____ Phone (____) _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

pamphlet

Make checks payable/mail to:
Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

Another key legal guideline discarded in Jamal's case was the *Chambers* ruling which mandates that the jury must be allowed to hear testimony which would affect the credibility of prosecution witnesses. Sabo refused to allow Chobert to be cross-examined on his previous felony conviction. He struck the prostitute Veronica Jones' testimony of a police deal with Cynthia White. And when the defense asked for the detectives who interviewed Jones to testify, Sabo fumed, "we don't have to prove every witness is a liar on the stand."

Most importantly, Sabo, McGill and the cops ganged up to make sure that Jamal's police guard Wakshul, who could have refuted the purported "confession," would not testify. When Jamal's lawyer called for Wakshul to appear, the following exchange ensued:

> "Court: What is this officer that you want? What is he going to testify to?
> "Jackson: That he picked Jamal up at the scene.
> "Court: So?
> "Jackson: During this time the negro male made no comment. He was with him the entire time.
> "Prosecutor: He is not around. I am going to object to bringing this guy in."

Then, as McGill supposedly went to check on Wakshul's whereabouts, Sabo insinuated, "he could be on vacation." Sure enough, despite a "no vacation" order on Wakshul's police report, McGill soon returned to report that "he is on vacation until July 8th." Sabo then adamantly denied Jamal's appeal for a continuance, sneering: "Your attorney and you goofed."

3 The Lynch Law Sentence

Following this monstrous frame-up, on 2 July 1982, the jury returned a verdict of first-degree murder. The next day, the Saturday of the July 4th weekend, Jamal was sentenced to death. Jamal's appointed attorney made no effort to prepare for the sentencing hearing and didn't call a single character witness to say why this talented and courageous writer, who had no prior criminal record and no history of violence, should not die. When Jamal rose to read a statement protesting the guilty verdict and the denial of his rights, Sabo used this as an excuse to let McGill openly introduce Jamal's political past and beliefs into the trial. McGill "cross-examined" Jamal about a 1970 newspaper interview in which he talked about his Panther activities. The trial transcript shows the following exchange:

> "*Q*: You've often been quoted as saying this: 'Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun.' Do you remember saying that, sir?
> "*A*: I remember writing that. That's a quotation from Mao-Tse-Tung....
> "*Q*: Do you recall saying: 'All power to the people'?...
> "*A*: Yes.
> "*Q*: Do you believe that your actions as well as your philosophy are consistent with the quote: 'Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun.'
> "*A*: I believe that America has proven that quote to be true."

McGill then argued that Jamal should die because these decade-old quotes supposedly proved that he had intended to kill a cop "all the way back then." Based on constant surveillance by the Philly cops and the FBI and on Jamal's police files, which they didn't disclose, the prosecution knew that from "way back then" Jamal had never committed any criminal acts but had simply spoken out for his political beliefs.

In his argument to the jury during the sentencing phase, prosecutor McGill also sought to convince them that they would bear no responsibility for the legal lynching, claiming that Jamal could submit "appeal after appeal after appeal," so that in reality the death sentence would be no death sentence at all. This, as well, was a flagrant violation of Jamal's rights.

4 "Appeal After Appeal After Appeal"?

When in 1989 Jamal appealed this flagrant use of his political associations in his sentencing, the Pennsylvania Supreme Court backed up its man McGill, arguing that Jamal's membership in "an unpopular political organization" like the Black Panther Party demonstrated his "longstanding disdain for the system." The entire proceedings had an extraordinary character. Jamal's appeal was decided on by only four of the seven justices. Chief Justice Nix actively intervened in the oral arguments against the district attorney, making the point that the argument of repeated appeals had already been found unconstitutional in instances where the *same* D.A. (McGill) used the *same* language before the *same* judge (Sabo). Yet mysteri-

Spartacist Publication

What Strategy for Black Liberation? Trotskyism vs. Black Nationalism

Marxist Bulletin No. 5 Revised

$1.50 (72 pages)

Selected documents and articles on the black question in the U.S., 1955-1978

Includes:

- For the Materialist Conception of the Negro Question
- The Negro Struggle and the Crisis of Leadership
- Rise and Fall of the Panthers: End of the Black Power Era
- Soul Power or Workers Power? The Rise and Fall of the League of Revolutionary Black Workers
- Black Power and the Fascists
- Black Power—Class Power
- Behind the "Roots" Craze
- Quotes from Frederick Douglass and Malcolm X: Developing a Social Conscience
- Quotes from "Roots": Romanticizing an Individual Heritage

Make checks payable/mail to:
Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

ously, the chief justice did not participate in the vote.

Three years later, in a 1992 ruling on the *Dawson* case, the U.S. Supreme Court overturned a death sentence because the prosecutor had cited the defendant's association with the fascist Aryan Brotherhood. Yet the U.S. Supreme Court *twice* turned down a review of Jamal's appeal on the same grounds, once in 1990 and again at the time the *Dawson* case was pending before the court. In this and a hundred other ways, it is clear that Jamal's trial was a political frame-up from start to finish, from bottom to top.

Justice Demands Freedom for Mumia Abu-Jamal!

The frame-up of Mumia Abu-Jamal is an object lesson in the class nature of the capitalist state. The cops, the courts and the entire "criminal justice" system colluded and conspired to bring down this man whose only crime was that he was an eloquent and effective critic of the racist oppression they perpetrate and promote. As the legal papers recently filed by Jamal summarize in conclusion, "In this case, every basic trial element—the defense, the prosecution, the jury, and the court—was so riddled with prejudicial error as to deny Mr. Jamal any semblance of a fair proceeding." *Mumia Abu-Jamal did not have a fair trial, he could not have had a fair trial and he would not now be allowed to have a fair trial.*

Jamal is fighting for his life in a climate of all-sided racist reaction. Just look at the political rulers of this country. Democratic president Bill Clinton took time out from his 1992 presidential campaign, when he was governor of Arkansas, to rush back to Little Rock to personally oversee the execution of a brain-damaged black man. The U.S. Congress last year added—with near unanimity—some 60 more capital offenses to the federal lawbooks. Now, with equal bipartisan fervor, it intends to define virtually any crime involving a handgun as a "terrorist" act warranting the death penalty. And more than once in the past year alone, the courts have allowed the executions of death row prisoners who were demonstrably innocent. Meanwhile, more than one and a half million people, most of them black and Hispanic, already languish behind prison bars. As Jamal points out in his column, "An Easy Kill..." (see *Workers Vanguard* No. 625), only with the millions of dollars of an O.J. Simpson can a black man hope for even a semblance of justice in America's courts.

In Pennsylvania, Jamal's case is a defining political issue. The governor is a fervent advocate of the death penalty who was once a prosecutor himself. In response to a question about racial bias in Jamal's trial, where the jury was overwhelmingly white, Ridge ludicrously asserted that juries are "colorblind.... Color has nothing to do with their ultimate decision." In the 1987 *McCleskey* ruling, even the U.S. Supreme Court admitted that race has plenty to do with death sentences, but ruled that it didn't matter. Ultimately, this boils down to the "principle" enunciated by Chief Justice Taney in the 1857 *Dred Scott* slavery case, that blacks "had no rights which a white man was bound to respect." It took a Civil War to overturn that verdict and the slave system which it represented, and it will take workers revolution to overturn capitalism and its system of criminal injustice. Our fight against the racist death penalty is part and parcel of the struggle to finish the unfinished tasks of the Civil War through a third, socialist American revolution.

The application of the death penalty is racist everywhere in the United States, but it is perhaps even more egregiously so in Pennsylvania. Well over half the men on death row in Pennsylvania were sentenced in heavily minority Philadelphia, which has consigned more people to the death mills than any city except Houston in the Deep South. Although Philadelphia (40 percent black) and Allegheny County (Pittsburgh and its suburbs, which are 90 percent white) have roughly the same population, Philadelphia has sent *15*

Spartacist Publication

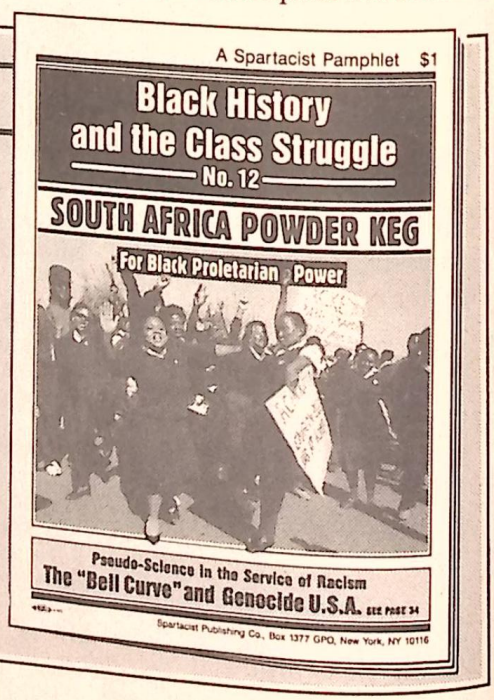
Black History and the Class Struggle No. 12

- **South Africa Powder Keg** (Four-part series)
  1 ANC Fronts for Racist Exploiters
  2 Growth of the Black Workers Movement
  3 ANC's Nationalist Popular Front Unraveling
  4 Program for Black Proletarian Power
- **ANC/De Klerk Deal Is Betrayal of Black Freedom**
- **The "Bell Curve" and Genocide U.S.A.**
- **Save Mumia Abu-Jamal!**
- **L.A. Unionists Demand: Freedom for Geronimo!**
- **Port Chicago, 1944: U.S. Navy's Racist Frame-Up**

$1 (48 pages)

Black History is sent to all *Workers Vanguard* subscribers.

Order from: Spartacist Pub. Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116


A Spartacist Pamphlet $1
Black History and the Class Struggle
No. 12
SOUTH AFRICA POWDER KEG
For Black Proletarian Power
Pseudo-Science in the Service of Racism
The "Bell Curve" and Genocide U.S.A.
Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

Workers Vanguard Photo

South African workers have embraced Jamal's fight against the racist death penalty. Workers at COSATU demonstration in Johannesburg on June 6 hold up flyers demanding, "Save Mumia Abu-Jamal!"

times as many people to death row, and *80 percent* of those from Philadelphia are black. The Philadelphia D.A. seeks the death penalty in as much as *85 percent* of capital cases. The Philadelphia juridical system is marked by an unconstitutional "Homicide Unit" of hanging judges—like Sabo—who *only* hear murder cases. This special panel is apparently self-selecting: these are the judges who really groove on death. Jamal's lawyers have moved to disqualify Sabo as a biased judge, but under Pennsylvania's rules Sabo comes out of semiretirement to rule on his own bias!

For many years, Philadelphia was Rizzotown, as the notoriously racist police commissioner and then mayor ran the city with an iron fist of terror and brutalized the black population. But it did not require a Rizzo to frame up Jamal, nor to firebomb the MOVE home in 1985, killing eleven black men, women and children and destroying an entire city block. That heinous police crime was overseen by black Democratic mayor Wilson Goode, who at the same time refused to go to the scene because he said he feared for his life at the hands of the cops.

In Philly, many of the same people who hounded Jamal from the time he was a teenage political activist until they railroaded him onto death row are still around today in positions of power. The Philadelphia D.A. in 1981 was Ed Rendell, who two days after Jamal's arrest was already proclaiming Jamal guilty of murder; today Rendell is mayor. The Assistant D.A. who prosecuted Jamal, Joseph McGill, is today openly working as an attorney for the FOP, defending its members against charges of bribery, theft and corruption. And the arraignment judge in Mumia's case, Lynne Abraham, is now the "liberal" D.A. whose office has weighed in to try to intimidate opposition to Jamal's legal lynching.

Assistant D.A. Gordon's letter laid out the prosecution's tissue of lies in Jamal's case, and also issued some very real threats. He concluded with a denunciation that the "ill-advised Addison-Wesley decision to publish Mr. Abu-Jamal's book and reward him with a profit for his deed, looks to be the only true miscarriage of justice here," and ominously warned that those who support Jamal are guilty of an "insult to police officers, families of murder victims and the thousands of law-abiding citizens who are no doubt repulsed by your misguided and misinformed support for this very cunning but despicable murderer."

Nor did the FBI and its agents and surrogates in Pennsylvania cease their scrutiny and surveillance of Jamal with the demise of the Black Panther Party and the supposed dissolution of COINTELPRO's Murder, Inc. As revealed by Jamal's recently released FBI files, they continued to keep tabs on him and his supporters at least as recently as 1991. Now it has been determined, on the basis of pretrial discovery in a civil rights lawsuit by Jamal against the prison authorities, that the Pennsylvania Department of Corrections has been intercepting, copying and evidently circulating *privileged correspondence* between Jamal and his attorneys. This includes several letters this year and at least two letters from 1994 which contained sensi-

tive information about the legal strategy and investigation being pursued in Jamal's quest for a new trial and the overturn of his death sentence. And since the warrant was signed, all of Jamal's correspondence with his attorneys is being opened. This blatant violation of Jamal's constitutional rights is a concerted conspiracy to spy on and spike his legal defense efforts.

This sinister web of spying, intimidation and frame-up is not an aberration which can be cleansed from the system, as liberals would have it. Rather it goes to the very core of the capitalist state which, with its cops and courts, its prosecutors and executioners, is an instrument for the repression of the working class and the oppressed. This is part of the Marxist understanding of the capitalist state, and as Marxists we understand that it will take nothing less than a workers revolution to sweep away this machinery of state terror whose purpose is to keep profits and interest payments flowing into the coffers of Wall Street. As part of a multiracial revolutionary workers party which champions the cause of all the oppressed, black workers will play a key role in sweeping away this system of exploitation, war and racism. Only in a socialist America, as part of an international socialist society, will working people and minorities find not only civil but social justice, a society in which youth will be faced not with a nightmare of ghetto and prison hellholes but education and meaningful employment.

Jamal's case is what capitalist state repression is all about: he was brutally beaten by the Philadelphia police as a 14-year-old anti-racist protester, spied on by the local "red squad" and the FBI, placed on "subversives" lists and subjected to several attempted frame-ups as a teenage youth. He was then shot by the cops in the dead of night, and when they failed to execute him on the streets, they have tried ever since to kill him through the courts. His trial was a travesty of justice from the start, presided over by a notorious hanging judge, with evidence suppressed, witnesses intimidated and black jurors excluded. The death sentence was blatantly based on his political beliefs, and his appeals have been dismissed out of hand. But despite the overwhelming forces arrayed against him, he has continued to fight, to be the "voice of the voiceless."

Mumia Abu-Jamal has been a special target of the racist rulers, because he dared *and dares* to speak out with force and passion against their injustices. But the system which has tormented him also oppresses black and Hispanic minorities as a whole, as its apparatus of legal repression defends the property and interests of the tiny handful of fabulously wealthy capitalists against the working people who produce their wealth. Jamal's case serves as a reminder of the fundamental realities of capitalism, for the nightmare he has endured continues today. The recent FBI/cop street execution in Philadelphia of an unarmed 23-year-old black man, Glenn Thomas, is but one of the countless state-sanctioned murders which are a daily occurrence in the ghettos and barrios.

In Clinton/Gingrich's America, what possibility is there for a valiant fighter against oppression like Mumia Abu-Jamal to find justice in the criminal court system? The legal proceedings against him have been hopelessly tainted. When the police have ruthlessly suppressed, destroyed, and mutilated the evidence beyond recognition, when the D.A.'s office with its smear campaign has shown it will tell any lie to see Jamal dead, when the judges are hangmen in robes—what possible chance does Jamal ever have to get a "fair trial" from this lynch mob? Simple justice demands that Jamal be freed immediately. He must be free to write, free to publish, here on the outside where he belongs and where he can continue to struggle against racist capitalist oppression.

From IWW revolutionary labor organizer Frank Little to San Francisco unionists Tom Mooney and Warren Billings to anarchist workers Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti in the early years of the century, to the heroic Rosenbergs in the McCarthyite 1950s, to the 38 Black Panthers who were gunned down in the '60s—and the many more who were jailed, some of them still behind bars today, like Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt)—Mumia Abu-Jamal is one in a long line of fighters for social justice who have been grievously victimized by the capitalist rulers. Jamal should not have spent a day in jail in the first place, and he should not be in prison now. He should be allowed to join his family and to join all those who seek and struggle for a society in which there will be no racist frame-ups and legal lynchings. While Jamal's lawyers pull every possible legal lever to win his freedom, what's urgently needed is to mobilize millions of workers and the oppressed worldwide to demand: Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the racist death penalty! ■

Fraternal Defense Organizations

Australia:
Partisan Defence Committee
P.O. Box Q217, QVB
117 York Street
Sydney NSW 2000
(02) 281 2181

Britain:
Partisan Defence Committee
BCM Box 4986
London WC1N 3XX
0171 485 1396

Canada:
Partisan Defense Committee
P.O. Box 314, Station B
Toronto, Ontario M5T 2W1
(416) 593-4138

France:
Comité de défense sociale
BP - 202
75822 PARIS Cedex 17
(1) 42 08 01 49

Germany:
Komitee für soziale Verteidigung
c/o Werner Brand
Postfach 21 07 50
10507 Berlin
(0 30) 4 43 94 01

Italy:
Codispro (Comitato di difesa sociale e Proletaria)
MBE 291
Via della Moscova, 13
20121 Milano
02/6692155

Japan:
Partisan Defense Committee
c/o SGJ,
P.O. Box 49
Akabane Yubinkyoku
Kita-ku Tokyo 115
(03) 3981-3090

PDC Partisan Defense Committee

Defense of Cases and Causes in the Interest of the Whole of the Working People

The PDC is a class-struggle, non-sectarian legal and social defense organization which champions cases and causes in the interest of the whole of the working people. This purpose is in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League. Our heritage is the working-class defense policies of the International Labor Defense (ILD), under its founder and first secretary from 1925-1928, James P. Cannon. The PDC was initiated by the Spartacist League in 1974, and stands on the record of principled defense work conducted by the Spartacist League.

The PDC is partisan: we stand unconditionally on the side of working people and their allies in struggle against their exploiters and oppressors. We place all our faith in the power of the masses and no faith whatever in the "justice" of the court. While favoring all possible legal proceedings for the cases we support, we recognize that the courts, prisons and police exist to maintain through organized violence and terror, the rule of one class over others. In its partisanship, the PDC is also anti-sectarian. We champion causes and defend cases whose victorious outcomes are in the interest of working people, irrespective of particular political views. We defend, in the words of James P. Cannon, "any member of the workers movement, regardless of his views, who suffered persecution by the capitalist courts because of his activities or his opinion" (*The First Ten Years of American Communism*).

Stipends to Class-War Prisoners—Revival of the ILD Tradition

We must not forget the class-war prisoners of today—those in prison for standing up to racist capitalist oppression—whose freedom is in the interest of the whole of the working people. "The victory of the class-war prisoners is possible only when they are inseparably united with the living labor movement and when that movement claims them for its own, takes up their battle cry and carries on their work" (James P. Cannon, "The Cause that Passes Through a Prison," *Labor Defender*, September 1926, reprinted in *Notebook of an Agitator*).

As an expression of our class solidarity, the PDC has revived the tradition of the ILD by sending monthly stipends of $25 to class-war prisoners. This support for class-war prisoners is not an act of charity but the duty of those on the outside toward those inside prison walls.

Class-Struggle Defense Notes—Build the PDC

CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES is published by the PDC, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013, (212) 406-4252. Contributions to the PDC of $5.00 or more include a year's subscription to *CSDN*.

Support the PDC. Become a sustaining contributor. The regular contributions of our sustainers support the work of the PDC, including the vital work of publicizing Jamal's fight against the racist death penalty. The donations also support the PDC's program of monthly stipends to class-war prisoners—Mumia Abu-Jamal, Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt), MOVE members and others.

☐ I want to pledge $ _____ per month. Increase my monthly pledge to $ _____

☐ I want to receive *CSDN*. Enclosed is my contribution of $ _____

☐ I want _____ bundles (25 each) of the Jamal Campaign Issue, *CSDN* No. 22, at $10 per bundle and _____ copies of the PDC's video *From Death Row, This is Mumia Abu-Jamal* at $30 each. Enclosed find $ _____

Name _____ Telephone (_____) _____

Address _____

_____

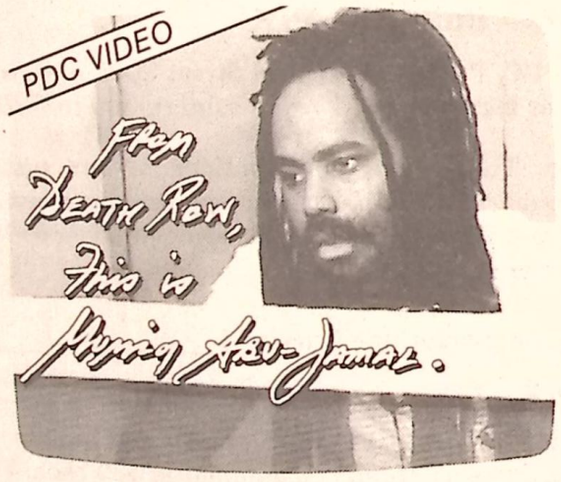
_____

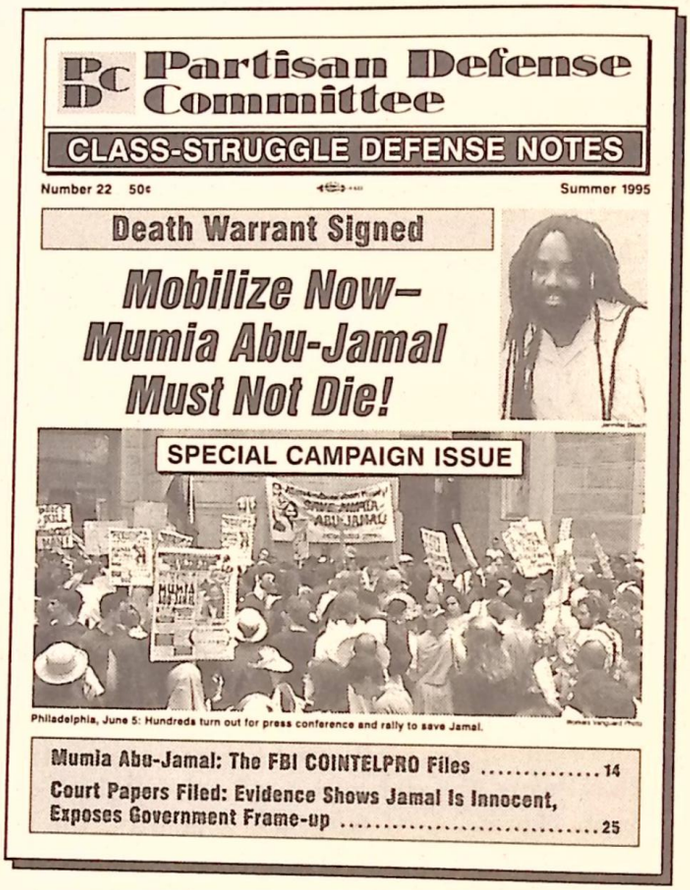
Join the Campaign! Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!

1 Organize protest! Pass motions in your unions, campus, community and church organizations. Get your union or organization to make a contribution and join rallies and protests for Jamal. Publicize Jamal's case in your union or organization's newsletter. Prepare for emergency demonstrations—**get on the Partisan Defense Committee phone tree to organize in your area.**

2 Spread the word! The current issue of the PDC's *Class-Struggle Defense Notes* is devoted to the struggle to save Mumia Abu-Jamal. Order bundles of this special campaign issue from the PDC, 25 copies for $10.00. Get your local bookstore to stock Jamal's powerful *Live from Death Row*. Contact the PDC for speakers, to arrange showings of the PDC's video, *From Death Row, This is Mumia Abu-Jamal*. The video can be purchased for $30.00 from the PDC at the New York address below.

3 Send protests to: Governor Tom Ridge, Main Capitol Building, Room 225, Harrisburg, PA 17120. In the first week after he signed Jamal's death warrant, Ridge received over 20,000 letters of protest. Now he's changing his phone and fax number daily to try and stay ahead of the growing movement for Jamal! As we go to press, the numbers are: phone (717) 787-2500; fax (717) 783-8609.




Partisan Defense Committee
CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES
Number 22 50¢
Summer 1995
Death Warrant Signed
Mobilize Now– Mumia Abu-Jamal Must Not Die!
SPECIAL CAMPAIGN ISSUE
Philadelphia, June 5: Hundreds turn out for press conference and rally to save Jamal.
Mumia Abu-Jamal: The FBI COINTELPRO Files 14
Court Papers Filed: Evidence Shows Jamal Is Innocent, Exposes Government Frame-up 25

Contributions of $5.00 or more to the PDC include a year's subscription to *CSDN*.

4 Funds are urgently needed! To get a new trial and overturn the death sentence could cost over a million dollars. **Make a contribution today** to the Bill of Rights Foundation (earmarked "Mumia Abu-Jamal Legal Defense") and mail it to: Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, 163 Amsterdam Ave., No. 115, New York, NY 10023-5001.

5 Write to Jamal to express your solidarity: Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM8335, SCI Greene, 1040 E. Roy Furman Highway, Waynesburg, PA 15370-8090.

For more information contact the Partisan Defense Committee:

P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013-0099 (212) 406-4252
P.O. Box 2457, Decatur, GA 30041-2457 (404) 659-0251
P.O. Box 802867, Chicago, IL 60680-2867 (312) 663-0719
Suite 92, 1530 Locust St., Philadelphia, PA 19102 (215) 222-7880
P.O. Box 77462, San Francisco, CA 94107 (510) 839-0852

SPARTACIST
P.O. BOX 150
GLASGOW G3 6DX
Tel: 041-332 0788